

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
HINDOSTAN;

TRANSLATED  
FROM THE PERSIAN.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED  
TWO DISSERTATIONS;

THE FIRST CONCERNING THE HINDOOS, AND THE SECOND ON THE ORIGIN  
AND NATURE OF DESPOTISM IN INDIA.

BY ALEXANDER DOW, ESQ.

A NEW EDITION.



IN THREE VOLUMES.

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THE  
HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

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INVASION OF TIMUR-BEC.

**T**IMUR-BEC, being informed of the commotions and civil wars of India, began his expedition into that country, in the eight hundredth year of the Higerā, and, on the twelfth of Mohirrim, in the following year, arrived on the banks of the Chule Jallali, one of the most westerly branches of the Indus. He immediately dispatched Noor ul Dien to dispossess Mubarick, who, on the part of the King of Delhi, had in charge the defence of the frontier districts. When Noor ul Dien had arrived within a few miles of Mubarick, he summoned him to submit to Timur. But as the imperial general had previously retreated into a strong-hold on the bank of the river, round which he had drawn a ditch, forming the place into an island, he determined to defend himself to the last.

Noor ul Dien, however, found means, upon making his approaches, to fill up the ditch: but at night he suffered a considerable loss, by a violent sally of the besieged; whom, in the end, he repulsed, and forced to take shelter within the walls. Timur himself advanced against the enemy, with his whole army. Mubarick, intimidated by the approach of Timur, stowed privately, in forty boats, his treasure and family, and fell down the river, being two days pursued in vain by Noor ul Dien, who was detached with a party after

him. The garrison, after the departure of their leader, immediately surrendered.

Timur proceeded down the river to the conflux of the Jimboo and Chinab, where there was a strong fort and town, known by the name of Tulumubini. He ordered a bridge to be laid across the river, by which his army might pass. Having pitched his camp without the town, he laid it under a heavy contribution. But whilst the inhabitants were very busy in collecting the sum demanded, a complaint being made in the camp of the scarcity of provisions, orders were issued to seize grain wherever it should be found. The soldiers, upon this, hastened to search the town, but not being content to take provisions alone, the natural consequence was, that a general plunder ensued. The inhabitants, endeavouring to oppose this outrage, were massacred without mercy.

To besiege the citadel would but retard the designs of Timur. He therefore marched, the next day after the massacre, to a town called Shawnawaze, where he found more grain than was sufficient to serve his whole army. He therefore ordered, that what could not be carried away should be burnt; having previously cut off Jisserit, the brother of the prince of the Gickers, who had attempted to defend the place with two thousand men. Timur marched, on the third day, from Shawnawaze, and, crossing the Bea, came into a rich and plentiful country.

It may not be improper here to say something concerning the proceedings of the prince, the grandson of Timur, Pier Mahommed, after his having, as has been already mentioned, taken Moulтан. The solstitial rains having destroyed a great part of his cavalry, in the field, he was under the necessity of drawing his army into the city of Moulтан. There he was driven to the utmost distress by the inhabitants of the country, who had closely invested him. His cavalry, instead of being able to act against them, diminished daily in their numbers for want of forage.



In this untoward situation were the affairs of that prince, when his grandfather entered Hindostan. Timur immediately reinforced Mahommed with a detachment of thirty thousand chosen horse, and soon after joined him with his whole army. The prince carried in his mind great animosity against the governor of Battenize, who had chiefly distressed him. Timur, to chastise the governor, selected ten thousand horse, with which he marched directly towards him. When he reached Adjodin, he was shewn the tomb of the learned Ferid, the poet, in respect to whose memory he spared the few inhabitants who remained in the place, the greater part having fled to Delhi and Battenize.

Timur continued then his march to Battenize, crossing the river of Adjodin, and encamping at Chaliskole, from which place, in one day, he marched one hundred miles to Battenize. Upon his arrival, the people of Debalpoor, and other adjacent towns, crowded into the place, in such numbers, that half of them were driven out, and obliged to take shelter under the walls. They were there attacked the first day by the King, and some thousands of them slain. Raw Chilligi, who was governor of the place, seeing the enemy so few in number, drew out the garrison, and formed them without the town in order of battle. The Moguls, however, upon the first onset, drove him back within his walls, while the King in person pressed so hard upon the enemy's rear, that he possessed himself of the gates before they could be shut. Then driving the runaways from street to street, he became, in a few hours, entirely master of the place, except the citadel; to reduce which, he ordered a party immediately to dismount and begin to undermine it.

The garrison desired to capitulate, to which Timur agreed; and the governor, having had an interview with the King, presented him with three hundred Arabian horses, and with many of the valuable curiosities of Hindostan. Timur, in return, honoured him with a chelut; and after the conditions were settled, sent Soli-

man, Sheh, and Omar Ulla, to take possession of the gates, commanding them to slay all those who had taken refuge in the place, and had before been active against his grandson Mahommed. The rest, after being plundered, were ordered to be dismissed.

In consequence of this inhuman order, five hundred persons in a few minutes were put to death. Those who remained still within the fort were so struck with this massacre, that they set fire to the place, murdered their wives and children, and, in mere despair, sought after nothing but revenge and death. The scene now became terrible! but the unfortunate inhabitants were, in the end, cut off to a man; they however revenged themselves amply, upon the rapacious and inhuman authors of their distress; some thousands of the Moguls having fallen by their hands. This so much exasperated Timur, that firebrand of the world, that he ordered every soul in Battenize to be massacred, and to reduce the city itself to ashes.

Timur, marching to Surusti, put the inhabitants of that place also to the sword, and gave the town up to pillage. Advancing to Fatteabad, he continued the same scene of barbarity, through that and the adjacent towns of Rahib, Amirani, and Jonah. He detached Hakîm Agherâck towards Sammana, with five thousand horse, and with the few that remained, he himself scoured the country, and cut off a tribe of banditti called Jits, who had lived for some years by rapine. His army, in the mean time, being divided under different chiefs, carried fire and sword through all the provinces of Moulton and Lahore; but when they advanced near the capital, he ordered a general rendezvous at Keitil, a town within ten miles of Sammana.

Timur himself soon joined his army, and having regulated the order of his march, advanced towards Delhi. When he reached Panniput, he ordered his soldiers to put on their fighting apparel\*; and, that he

\* Coats stuffed thick with cotton, worn instead of armour.

might be the better supplied with forage, crossed the Jumna, took the fort of Lowni by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. He then marched down along the river, and encamped opposite to the citadel of Delhi, posting guards to prevent all communication. He immediately detached Soliman and Jehan to scour the country behind him to the south and south-east of the city; whilst he himself that very day, with seven hundred horse only, crossed the river to reconnoitre the citadel.

The King of Delhi, and his minister Eckbal, seeing so few in the retinue of Timur, issued forth with five thousand foot and twenty-seven elephants against him. Sillif, an Omrah of repute in Delhi, who led on the attack, was repulsed and taken prisoner by the Moguls. Timur ordered him to be immediately beheaded, and after having made the observations which he had intended, repassed the river and joined his army.

He next morning moved his camp more to the eastward, where he was told by the princes and generals of his army, that there were then above one hundred thousand prisoners in his camp, who had been taken since he crossed the Indus; that these unfortunate persons had, the day before, expressed great joy when they saw him attacked before the citadel; which rendered it extremely probable that, on a day of battle, they would join with their countrymen against him. The inhuman Timur, who might have found other means of prevention, gave orders to put all above the age of fifteen to the sword, so that, upon that horrid day, one hundred thousand men were massacred in cold blood. This barbarity, together with his other actions of equal cruelty, gained him the name of *Hillak Chan*, or the destroying Prince. Upon the fifth of the first Jemnad, Timur forded the river with his army without opposition, and encamped on the plains of the city of Firose, a part of Delhi; where he entrenched himself, filling the ditch with buffaloes fronting the enemy. He fastened the buffaloes with ropes and

picquets to their stations, placing, at the same time, strong guards, at proper distances, behind them.

Though the astrologers pronounced the seventh an unlucky day, the King marched out of his lines, and drew up his army in order of battle. King Mahmood and Eckbal, with the army of Delhi, and one hundred and twenty elephants in mail, advanced towards him. But upon the very first charge of a squadron, called the Heroes of Chighlitta, the elephant-drivers were dismounted, and the outrageous animals, deprived of their guides, ran roaring back, and spread terror and confusion among their own ranks. The veteran troops of Timur, who had already conquered half the world, improved this advantage, and the degenerate Hindoos were, in a few minutes, totally routed, without making one brave effort for their country, lives, and fortunes. The conqueror pursued them with great slaughter to the very gates of Delhi, near which he fixed his quarters.

The consternation of the fugitives was so great, that, not trusting to their walls, Mahmood and his minister deserted in the night their capital; the former flying to Guzerat, the latter taking the route of Berren. Timur, having intelligence of their flight, detached parties after them, one of which coming up with Mahmood, killed a great number of his retinue, and took his two infant sons, Seif ul Dien and Choda Daud, prisoners. Timur received the submission of all the great men of the city, who crowded to his camp, and were promised protection upon paying great contributions; and, upon the Friday following, he ordered a royal proclamation and titles to be read in his own name in all the mosques. Upon the sixteenth of the same month he placed guards at the gates, and appointed the scribes of the city, and magistrates, to regulate the contribution according to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants. Information was in the mean time lodged, that several Omrahs and rich men had shut themselves up in their houses, with their dependants,

and refused to pay down their share of the ransom. This obliged Timur to send troops into the city, to enforce the authority of the magistrates. A general confusion, uproar, and plundering, immediately ensued, which could not be restrained by the Mogul officers, who, at the same time, durst not acquaint the King that their authority was contemned by the troops.

Timur, according to his custom after success, was then busy in his camp, in celebrating a grand festival, on account of his victory, so that it was five days before he received any intelligence of these proceedings. The first notice he had of them, was by the flames of the city; for the Hindoos, according to their manner, seeing their wives and daughters ravished and polluted, their wealth seized by the hand of rapine, and they themselves insulted, beat, and abused, at length, with one consent, shut the city gates, set fire to their houses, murdered their wives and children, and ran out like madmen against their enemies.

But little effect had the despair of the unfortunate upon the Moguls, who soon collected themselves, and began a general massacre. Some streets were rendered impassable, by the heaps of dead: and in the mean time, the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army were admitted. Then followed a scene of horror much easier to be imagined than described. The desperate courage of the unfortunate Delhians, was at length cooled in their own blood. They threw down their weapons, they submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter. They permitted one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him; so that we may plainly perceive, that cowardice is the mother of despair. In the city, the Hindoos were, at least, ten to one superior in number to the enemy; and had they possessed souls, it would have been impossible for the Moguls, who were scattered about in every street, house, and corner, laden with plunder, to have resisted the dreadful assault. But though the Indians had the savage resolution of imbruing their hands in the blood

of their wives and children, we find them still the slaves of fear, and shrinking at the approach of that death which they could so readily execute upon others.

This massacre is, in the history of Nizam, otherwise related. The collectors of the ransom, says he, upon the part of Timur, having used great violence, by torture and other means, to extort money, the citizens fell upon them and killed some of the Moguls. This circumstance being reported to the Mogul King, he ordered a general pillage, and, upon resistance, a massacre to commence. This account carries greater appearance of truth along with it, both from Timur's general character of cruelty, and the improbability of his being five days close to the city without having intelligence of what passed within the walls. But the imperial race of Timur take, to this day, great pains to invalidate this opinion, nor do they want arguments on their side. The principal one is this: that, in consequence of a general plunder, the King would have been deprived of the ransom, which must have been exceedingly great, and for which he only received the elephants and regalia. Neither have we any account of his taking any part of the plunder from his army afterwards, though it must have been very immense.

The King, after this horrid scene, entered the city, taking to himself one hundred and twenty elephants, twelve rhinoceroses, and a number of curious animals, that had been collected by the Emperor Ferose. The fine mosque built by that prince, upon the stones of which he had inscribed the history of his reign, being esteemed a master-piece of architecture and taste, took so much the fancy of the conqueror, that he ordered stone-cutters and masons from Delhi to Samarcand, to build one upon the same plan.

After having staid fifteen days at Delhi, Timur took a sudden resolution of returning, and he accordingly marched out to Feroseabad, whither the Indian governor of Mewat sent him two white parrots as curiosities, with professions of subjection. The King sent Seid

Turmuzi to bring him to the presence, which summons he immediately obeyed; and Chizer\*, who had lain concealed in the hills, appeared in the royal presence, and was favourably received.

The King marching from Feroseabad arrived at Paniput, from whence he detached Amir Shaw, to besiege Merat, a strong fort, situated between the rivers, about sixty miles from Delhi. When Amir Shaw reached the place, upon reconnoitring its strength, and finding the garrison determined to defend it, he mentioned in a letter to the King, that they insulted him from the walls, by telling him he could succeed no better than Seri, the Mogul prince, who had formerly attempted to take the place.

This had the desired effect upon the King, who immediately marched his army against Merat, and, without delay, began to sink his mines, and carry on his approaches; advancing his sap towards the walls, at the rate of fifteen yards every twenty-four hours. Elias Adyhuni, the son of Moluna, Ahmud, and Suffi, defended the place with great resolution. But the Moguls, having filled up the ditch, placed their scaling-ladders, and fastened their hook-ropes to the wall, in spite of all opposition; and, without waiting for a breach by means of the mines, stormed the place, and put every soul within it to the sword. The mines, however, being finished, the King ordered them to be sprung, which blew the walls and bastions into pieces.

Timur continued his march to the skirts of the mountains of Sewalic, marking his way with fire and sword. Crossing then the Ganges, he subdued the country as high as where the river issues from the mountains; returning from thence, he repassed the river, and marched through the hills, where he was opposed by an Indian zemindar, whom he defeated and plundered. He then continued his route, taking several

\* Afterwards Emperor.

small forts in his way; having arrived at Jimmugur, he fought the Raja of that place, who was wounded, taken, and forced to become a Mussulman.

Jisserit, the brother of the Prince of Gickers, who had fled to him after his being defeated by Timur, had by his brother been severely reprimanded for opposing the King; which having been represented to Timur, the Prince was admitted into his presence, and became a great favourite. But when the King had marched on to Delhi, he remembered not his obedience, and in the absence of Timur possessed himself of Lahore. The King having returned to Jimbo\*, the Gicker refused to submit to his authority. The Sultan sent part of his army to besiege Lahore, which being taken in a few days, the Prince was brought prisoner to the King, who ordered him to be instantly beheaded.

We do not find that Timur appointed any king to govern Hindostan, which he had in a great measure subdued. He, however, confirmed the subas, who had submitted to him, in their governments; and, from this circumstance, we may suppose, that he intended to retain the empire in his own name; though he left no troops behind him, except a small detachment in Delhi, to secure it from further depredations. While he remained at Jimbo, he appointed Chizer viceroy of Moultan, Lahore, and Dibalpoor, then proceeded, by the way of Cabul, to Samarcand.

The city of Delhi had remained in anarchy for the space of two months after the departure of Timur, when it was taken possession of by the pretended Emperor Nuserit, with only two thousand horse, from Merat. Two chiefs, Shab and Almuss, with their troops and ten elephants, joined him soon after from the same place; Nuserit sent immediately Shab, with his troops, towards Birren, against Eckbal, who had there taken up his residence. But Shab was attacked

\* A fort in Punjaab, three days' journey north of Lahore.



in the night, upon his march, by the zemindars in the interest of Eckbal, and slain; Eckbal, pursuing this advantage, took all the baggage of Shab's army.

This success raising the reputation as well as spirits of Eckbal, he, in a few days, thought himself in a condition to make an attempt upon the capital, which he did with success; for Nuserit, upon his approach, fled to Merat; and Eckbal resumed the administration of affairs in the ruined city. The inhabitants, who had fled to different places, having still a natural hankering after their old abode, began to assemble again, and the place, in a short time, put on the appearance of populousness, especially the quarter called the New City.

Eckbal possessed himself soon of the country between the two rivers, which, with a small district round the city, was all that he now held of the capital. The subas had rendered themselves independent, in their own governments, during the misfortunes and confusion of the empire. Guzerat was seized upon by Azim; Malava by Delawir; Kinnoge, Oud, Kurrah, and Jionpoor, by Chaja Jehan, commonly called the King of the East; Lahore, Dibalpoor, and Moultan, by Chizer; Sammana, by Ghalil; Brana by Shumse; Mahoba by Mahommed, the son of Mulleck, and grandson of Ferose; and so on with regard to the other provinces, the governors asserting their own independence, and styling themselves Kings.

In the month of the first Jemmad, 803, Eckbal marched with an army from Delhi towards Biana, and defeated Shumse; whose troops joining him, he proceeded to Kittar, and after having levied a great contribution upon the territory of Narsing, returned to Delhi. Intelligence was soon after brought him, that Chaja Jehan was dead at Jionpoor, and that his adopted son, Kirrinphil, having assumed the title of the Emperor Mubarick, held that government. Eckbal, having gained over to his interest Shumse, governor of Biana, Mubarick and Bahadre of Mewat, marched the same year against Kirrinphil.

When he had reached the village of Pattiali, upon the banks of the Ganges, Rai Seri, and all the zemindars of that country, opposed him; but he defeated them with great slaughter. After this victory, he marched to Kinnoge, with an intention to proceed to Jionpoor, and from thence to Bengal. Upon his march, however, he was met by Kirrinphil, who opposed his crossing the Ganges so effectually, that, after repeated efforts for two months, he was forced to abandon the undertaking, and to return to his own country. But the perfidious Eckbal, entertaining some groundless suspicions of Shumse and Mubarick, assassinated them both upon their way back to their own governments.

The Emperor Mahmood, in the year 804, being disgusted with Ziffer, governor of Guzerat, fled from him to Malava, and soon after, by the invitation of Eckbal, returned to Delhi. He, however, contented himself with a pension, fearing that his interfering in the government would prove fatal to him. Advice being arrived, that Kirrinphil, or, as he styled himself, Mubarick, was dead, at Jionpoor, Eckbal, taking along with him the Emperor Mahmood, marched again towards Kinnoge; upon which, Ibrahim, the brother of Mubarick, who had mounted the throne, advanced with the troops of the East to meet him.

When the armies were near one another, Mahmood, dissatisfied with his condition, and having the folly to imagine that Ibrahim would acknowledge him King, and abdicate the throne of the Eastern provinces for his sake, escaped one day when he was out hunting, to the army of Ibrahim. But when that prince learned the intentions of Mahmood; he even withheld from him the necessaries of life, and intimated to him to quit the camp. Mahmood returned, in great distress, to Kinnoge, and was left by Eckbal in the government of that city; the governor, who was formerly there on the part of Ibrahim, being driven out. Ibrahim, however, put up with this insult, and returned to Jionpoor, while Eckbal retired to Delhi.

In the year 805, Eckbal marched against Gualier, which had fallen into the hands of Narsing, during the invasion of Timur, and had now, upon Narsing's death, descended to his son, Byram Deo. The fort being very strong, he could effect nothing against it, but, plundering the district around, he returned to Delhi. Brooking ill, however, this disappointment, he, in a short time, marched a second time against Gualier. Byram Deo sallied out of the place, and engaged Eckbal, but he was soon driven back into the fort, the siege of which Eckbal was again obliged to raise; and having plundered the country as before, he returned to Delhi.

Eckbal, in the year 807, drew an army towards Atava, and having, in several battles, defeated the Hindoo chief of Sibbiri, the prince of Gualier, the raja of Jallar, and others, who possessed that country, he raised contributions there. He then turned his arms against the nominal Emperor Mahmood, in Kinnoge. The Sultan shut himself up in the city, and Eckbal invested it for some time, but, not being able to reduce the place, he raised the siege, and marched towards Sammana.

Byram, a descendant of one of the Turkish slaves of the Emperor Ferose, had fixed himself in Sammana, and, upon the approach of Eckbal, had fled to the hills of Budhoor; Eckbal, closely pursuing him, encamped at the skirts of the mountains. Alim came to mediate matters, and a peace was soon patched up between the contending parties, and both, joining their forces together, marched towards Moulтан, against Chizer. At Tilbundi they were opposed by Rai Daood, Camal Mai, and Rai Hubbu, chiefs in the northern provinces, who were defeated and taken prisoners. The perfidious Eckbal, after this victory, without any apparent reason, except a desire of aggrandizing himself, seized upon Byram, and ordered him to be flayed alive. The death of Byram did not remain long unrevenged. Eckbal arriving near Adjoudin, Chizer met him, with the troops

of Moultan, Punjaab, and Dibalpoor, and, upon the nineteenth of the first Jemmad, the two armies engaged; Eckbal was slain, and the world was happily rid of a perfidious and cruel villain.

Dowlat Lodi, and Actiar, who commanded in Delhi, being informed of this event, called the Emperor Mahmood from Kinnoge. Mahmood, coming with a small retinue to Delhi, re-assumed the throne; but, laying aside any further efforts to reduce Moultan, he sent Dowlat with an army against Byram, who, upon the death of the former Byram, possessed himself of Sammana. The Emperor himself returned back, in the mean time, to Kinnoge; Ibrahim marched against him, and after some skirmishes, obliged him to retreat to Delhi. The Sultan's spiritless behaviour lost him the affections of his troops, and they accordingly, with one consent, dispersed themselves. Ibrahim having received intelligence of this desertion, crossed the Ganges, and marched towards Delhi with great expedition. When he had reached the banks of the Jumna, he heard that Azim of Guzerat had defeated and taken Alip, suba of Mindu and the country of Malava, and was then upon his march towards Jionpoor. Upon which he immediately retreated, to cover the capital of his dominions.

In the month of Rigib, 810, Dowlat Lodi and Byram came to battle near Sammana. Byram was defeated, and surrendered himself to Dowlat; but before the latter had enjoyed any fruits of his victory, he was himself beat back to Delhi, by Chizer. Mahmood, in the following year, marched against Keiwan, who, upon the part of Chizer, commanded the fort of Firosa. The Emperor, after levying contributions, returned; and Chizer, upon the advice of these transactions, marched against Delhi, and besieged Mahmood, who was neither a warrior nor a politician, in that part of the city which is distinguished by the name of the city of Firose. But fortune, for this time, supplied the want of abilities in Mahmood, for Chizer, being in want

of forage and grain, was obliged to raise the siege, and retire to Fattipoor.

Chizer, in the beginning of the year 814, returned by the way of Rhotuc, a country then in the possession of Sultan Mahmood, where Ecteriz and Mubariz, the governors of that country, declining hostilities, submitted to his pleasure. He plundered the town of Narnoul, and again advanced to Delhi; Mahmood shut himself up in the old citadel of Seri, which Chizer immediately besieged. Achtiar, who commanded in Firoseabad, seeing the affairs of Mahmood in a desperate situation, joined himself to Chizer, and admitted him into the place. They then, with all their troops, took possession of the country on the opposite side of the river, and prevented all supplies from Mahmood.

But that famine which they designed for the Emperor and his adherents, recoiled upon themselves; for a great drought had occasioned a scarcity of provisions between the rivers, and in the neighbourhood of Delhi; insomuch that Chizer was, a second time, forced to raise the siege, and retire to Fattipoor. Mahmood being delivered from this imminent danger, took no pains to strengthen himself against a future attack. He took the diversion of hunting in the neighbourhood of Keitul, where he was seized with a fever, and died in the month of Zecada; and with him the empire of Delhi fell from the race of the Turks, who were adopted slaves of the Emperor Mahommed Ghori, the second of that race of the princes of India distinguished by the name of the dynasty of Ghor.

The disastrous, interrupted, and inglorious reign of the weak Mahmood, lasted twenty years and two months. He was just as unfit for the age in which he lived, as he was unworthy of better times. God was angry with the people of Hindostan, and he gave them Mahmood, whose only virtue was, that his folly made him insensible, in a great measure, to those strokes of fortune, which abilities much greater than his could not, perhaps, avert. The Omrahs, soon after his

death, elected, in his stead, Dowlat Lodi, a Patan by nation, and originally a private secretary, who, after passing through various employs, was raised by Mahmood to the dignity of Aziz Mumalick\*.

Destitute of every pretension to the throne by succession, Dowlat Lodi could not long be supported upon it, by the few chiefs who owned allegiance to the court of Delhi. He was, however, seated upon the imperial Musnud, in the month of Mohirim of the 816 year of the Higera. He began his reign, by striking the currency in his own name, which is commonly the first act of kings. Two chiefs of power and reputation, Malleck Ecteriz and Mubariz, who had been in the interest of Chizer, abandoned that Omrah and joined Lodi. A few days after his accession, he marched towards Kittar, and was met by Rai Narsingh, and other zemindars of those districts, who acknowledged his title. Arriving at the town of Battiali, Mohabut, governor of Budaon, came to meet him.

Advices, in the mean time, arrived, that Ibrahim, who styled himself Emperor of the eastern provinces, was besieging Kadir the son of Mahmood, in Calpee; but as Lodi had not forces enough to march to his relief, he returned to Delhi to recruit his army. Chizer, who had been preparing to invade the capital, advanced, in the month of Zihidge, with sixty thousand horse, and a third time invested the citadel of Seri, whither Dowlat Lodi had retired. After a siege of four months, he obliged Lodi, upon the 15th of the first Ribbi, in the year 817, to surrender himself and the citadel. The Emperor was confined in the fort of Firoza, where he died soon, after a nominal reign of one year and three months.

Disturbances in Persia, and his ardent desire of extending his conquests to the extremities of Asia, on the north and west, prevented Timur from retaining the conquests he had made in India. The inferiority of the

\* An officer something similar to our Secretary of State.

troops of the Patan empire to the Moguls convinced him, that he could at any time reduce India; and he was therefore unwilling to leave any part of his veteran army to secure the provinces he had seized. Timur, after his return from Hindostan, settled the affairs of Persia, reduced Syria, Egypt, and the lesser Asia; and, in the 805 of the Higer, defeated Bajazet, the Turkish Emperor, in a great battle in the plains of Galatia. When he was meditating the conquest of China, he died on his march into that country, in the 808 year of the Higer, and the 1405 of the Christian æra. His son Sharoch succeeded Timur in his vast empire, and was on the throne at the death of Dowlat Lodi.

### CHIZER.

THE most accurate historians of those times affirm, that Chizer was of the race of the Prophet, and consequently what the Islamites call a Seid. His father, Soliman, being a person of some distinction, became the adopted son of Dowlat, a great Omrah, and governor of the province of Moultan in the reign of Feroze. Dowlat was, upon his death, succeeded in his government by his own son Malleck Shech; and he soon dying, Soliman was appointed to that viceroyship, which descended to Chizer from his father. Chizer being defeated, as we have already observed, by Saring, and driven from his country, he waited upon Timur, after the conquest of Delhi, and having gained his favour, was by him reinstated in his former government, with the addition of all the countries watered by the five rivers, commonly called Punjaab and Dibalpoor. This accession of strength enabled him to pave afterwards his way to the empire.

Chizer, upon his accession, conferred honours upon Malleck Joppa, and made him Vizier; and raised to dignities Rahim, the adopted son of his father Soliman,

with the government of Fattepoor and Moultan. He thus distributed favours, governments, and dignities, among his other Omrahs, but would not assume the imperial titles to himself, holding forth, that he held the empire for Timur: and ordered the coin to be struck in his name. The Chutba, during the life of Timur, was read in that conqueror's name in the mosques; and after Timur had travelled the way of mortality, in that of the Emperor Sharoch his son, mentioning the name of Chizer after him. He even sent sometimes a tribute to Samarcand. This was, probably, good policy in Chizer, as he could govern his fellow-Omrahs, with less envy, in the name of the Tartar Prince, than if he was to assume the name of King himself, to which he had not the least shadow of pretence.

In the first year of his government he sent Joppa, with an army, towards Kittar, which he subdued, and drove Rai Narsingh to the mountains; but upon paying a tribute Rai Narsingh was again put in possession of his country. Mohabut, Suba of Badoon, at the same time came to meet Malleck, and promised allegiance; and from thence the vizier marched towards Koer, Kumbul, and Chidewar, and levied the revenues which were due for some years before. After recovering Jellasar out of the hands of the Rajaputs of Chundwar, he marched to Atava, which he brought under subjection, by changing the administration; and after these exploits returned to Delhi.

In the month of the first Jemmad of this year, a tribe of Turks, who were of the adherents of Byram, assassinating Malleck, governor of Sirhind, took possession of his country. Chizer sent Zirick, with a powerful army, against them; and, upon his approach, the Turks crossed the Suttuluz, and retreated to the hills. Zirick pursued them thither; but those mountains being a continuation of those of Nagracot, which were then possessed by powerful zemindars, who assisted the Turks, he could effect nothing material



against them; and, in the end, he was obliged to retreat.

Intelligence was, in the year 819, received at Delhi, that Ahmud, who styled himself King of Guzerat, had advanced to Nagore. Chizer, mustering all his forces, marched against him, but Ahmud, declining battle, turned off towards Malava. When Chizer had reached Hanir, Elias, governor of that beautiful city, which had been built by the Emperor Alla, came out to meet him, and was honourably received. The Emperor proceeded from thence to Gualier, where he levied the tribute upon the Raja, and then continued his march to Biana, taking tribute from Kerim, the lord of that country. He, after these transactions, returned to Delhi.

In the year 820, Tan, chief of those Turks who had assassinated Malleck, lay at the head of a great army before Sirhind. Zirick, governor of Sammana, was immediately dispatched by Chizer, with a strong force against the Turk who besieged Sirhind, and he was once more driven back to his hills; and a seasonable relief was accomplished for the empire. Zirick having, in pursuit of the enemy, reached the village of Pael, Tan consented to pay tribute, and gave him his son as a hostage, expelling the murderers of Malleck. Upon this pacification he was left in possession of Jallender, and Zirick returned to Sammana, sending the hostage and contributions which he had raised, to the royal presence.

The Emperor, in the year 821, sent his minister against Raja Narsingh. The vizier, without ending the war, plundered and laid waste the province of Kittar, and returned to Budaoon. Crossing then the river, he came to Atava, where he raised contributions, and from thence returned to Delhi. Chizer went, in person, against the rebels of Kittar, and, upon his march, chastised the banditti of Schole. He crossed the Rahib, laid waste the country of Simbol and

Kittar, and, without coming to battle, returned to his capital.

He continued at Delhi a few days, and then moved towards Budaoon, crossing the Ganges at Pattali. Mahabut being alarmed at his approach, shut himself up in Budaoon, where the King besieged him for six months. In the course of the siege, Cawam, Achtiar Lodi, and all the old friends of the Emperor Mahmood, formed a conspiracy against the life of Chizer. The Sultan discovering the plot, decamped from before Budaoon, and returned towards Delhi. He, on his way, prepared an entertainment, upon the 20th of the first Jemmad in 822, to which all the conspirators were invited, and the guards setting suddenly upon them, they were to a man assassinated.

After the Sultan returned to Delhi, he was informed, that an impostor had appeared at Matchewarrah, under the name of Saring Chan, and had, by that means, collected a great body of people together. The King ordered Maleck Lodi, who, with the title of Islam Chan, was, at that time, governor of Sirhind, against him. The impostor was defeated, driven to the hills, and pursued by the joint forces of Tân, governor of Jallender, of Zirick, governor of Sammana, and of Maleck, governor of the country between the rivers. The impostor's army deserted him, each man skulking as best he could, and privately retiring to his abode. The imperial forces having no further service to do, separated, and returned to their respective stations. But, in the year following, Saring, the impostor, issued again from his hills, and having made an alliance with Tân, governor of Jallender, they invested the fort of Sirhind, and ravaged the country as far as Munsurepoor and Pael. The King sent a great army against them, who, giving them a total defeat, drove them out of the kingdom.

In the year 824, Chizer marched towards Mewat, taking and destroying the fort of Kotillah. The vizier

dying at that time, the vizarit was conferred upon his son. The Sultan turned from thence towards Gualier, where he raised contributions, and then hastened to Attava, levying tribute on the son of Rai Sibber, who then possessed that country. Falling sick during his progress, he returned to Delhi, where he died on the 17th of the first Jemmad of this year. He reigned seven years, and a few months; and his death was greatly lamented by the people, being esteemed a just, generous, and benevolent prince, for that age.

Sharoch, the son of Timur, sat on the Mogul throne, and ruled the vast empire conquered by his father, with great ability, justice, and moderation.

## MUBARICK II.

WHEN the Emperor Chizer had, by the violence of his disorder, lost all hopes of recovery, he, three days before he expired, appointed his eldest son to succeed him in the empire. Accordingly, two days after the Sultan's death, Mubarick\* ascended the throne, by the title of the *Supporter of Religion* and father of the victorious. The new Emperor made the usual appointments, raising Maleck Buddir, his cousin, to high honours; and Maleck Rigib, to the government of Dipalpoor and Punjaab.

In the month of the first Jemmad, he received advices, that Jisserit, the brother of Sheca the Gicker, who had, the preceding year, defeated and taken Ali King of Cashmire, upon his return from an expedition against Tatta, presuming upon his own power and valour, had taken a resolution to attempt the throne of Delhi. He, for this purpose, invited into his service the famous Tan, who had fled to the mountains, and

\* His titles were Monz ul dien, Abul Fatte, Sultan Mubarick Shaw.

appointed him captain general of his forces. He soon overrun the countries of Punjaab and Lahore, seized upon Zirick, governor of Jallender, by perfidious means, after which he took the place; and immediately thereafter besieged Islam, the imperial governor of Sirhind.

The Emperor Mubarick, though the solstitial rains were then in their height, marched from Delhi, and upon his approach to Sirhind, Jisserit raised the siege, and retreated to Ludhana. Zirick, at that place, found means to escape from him, and join Mubarick. The Emperor advanced towards Ludhana and Jisserit, crossing the Suttuluz, encamped on the opposite bank; having first possessed himself of all the boats upon the river, which circumstance obliged Mubarick to halt, till the water should fall at Kabulpoor, Jisserit, in the mean time, being determined to oppose his passage. Upon the 11th of Shuwal, Secunder the vizier, Zirick, Mahmood Hassen, Maleck Callu, and other Omrahs, according to the Emperor's order, made a forced march, and forded the river, the King himself following them close to support them with the body of the army. Jisserit, by this means, was thrown into confusion, and turned his face to flight. The Sultan kept close to his heels, slew, in the pursuit, a great many of the enemy, and took all their baggage.

Jisserit, after this defeat, took refuge in the mountains, in a very distressed condition. But Rai Bimé of Jimmu, having directed the King's army to Bile, a strong fort into which Jisserit had thrown himself, he fled to another place, but was pursued with great slaughter, and Mubarick, in the Mohirim of 825, directed his march to Lahore, ordered the ruined palaces and fortifications to be repaired, and, appointing Hassen governor, returned to Delhi.

Jisserit, collecting his scattered forces, took the field again, and invested Lahore for five months, without success. He then raised the siege, retired to Callanore, and fell upon Rai Bimé, for having given assistance to

the King; but the action which ensued between them being undecisive, Jisserit went to the banks of the Bea, and began to recruit his army. In the mean time, Malleck Secunder the vizier, who had been sent to succour Lahore, joined by Malleck Rigib, governor of Debalpoor, and by Islam, governor of Sirhind, advanced towards Jisserit, and obliged him to cross the Ravi and Chinaab, and to take shelter among the hills. The vizier marched along the Ravi to Callanore; and, upon the frontiers of Jimmu, Rai Bimé joined him, and leading the imperial troops through the hills, where the Gickers were concealed, some thousands of that unhappy people were put to the sword, and the vizier returned to Lahore.

These successes prevailed upon the King to appoint the vizier viceroy of Lahore, and to recall Hassen. But, in the year 826, the Sultan deprived him of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Surur ul Muluck, whom he dispatched against the Hindoos of Kittar. The Emperor himself followed that general with a greater army. The inhabitants of Kittar were subdued, and a great tribute exacted from them. Mubarick having settled affairs with Mahabut, governor of Budaoon, commanded him to march against the tribe of Toor, whom that general plundered, and took prisoners to a man. The Raja of Attava having, at this time, withdrawn himself from the royal camp, Mubarick pursued him to that place, and besieged him there. But terms of peace were settled between them, and the Raja's son given as a hostage for his father's future good behaviour. The King, after these transactions, returned to Delhi.

Hassen was, about this time, appointed paymaster and commander-in-chief of the troops. Jisserit, unconquered by his misfortunes, raised again his head, and, having defeated and slain Rai Bimé, by a fresh acquisition of reputation and wealth, raised an army of Gickers, with which he again attempted the conquest of Delhi. Having ravaged the countries of Lahore and Debalpoor, he collected together very considerable

plunder, but when Secunder, the late vizier, advanced against him, he did not choose to risk a battle, and therefore retired, with his spoils, to the hills, where he busied himself in recruiting his army for another attempt.

In the mean time, Jisserit made an alliance with Amir Ali, a Mogul Omrah, a subject of the Emperor Sharoch, the son of the great Timur, who resided at Cabul. He persuaded Amir Ali to make an incursion into the territories of Seistan, Bicker, and Tatta, to draw off the King's attention from Delhi, and so to facilitate his own schemes. Alla, governor of Moul-tan, dying about this time, and the news of Amir Ali's incursion being noised abroad, the King, without delay, sent Hassen, with the army, towards Moul-tan. The Raja of Malava had, in the same year, invested Gualier, which obliged the Emperor Mubarick to raise all the forces of those provinces, and to march against him; levying, on his way, contributions upon Amir, prince of Biana.

The Raja of Atava, upon the approach of Mubarick, crossed the Chambul, and sat down upon the opposite bank. Mubarick having in the mean time found another ford, crossed the river with great expedition; attacked him in his camp, took many prisoners, and a part of the enemy's baggage. The prisoners being found to be Mahommedans, were dismissed by the King. The Raja thought it then advisable to compound all differences, by paying down a sum of money to the Sultan; upon which he was permitted to withdraw towards Dhar. Mubarick having tarried for some time in that place, to levy contributions upon the neighbouring zemindars, returned, in the month of Rigib, 827, to Delhi.

The Sultan, next year, made a motion towards Kitar, where the Indian prince Narsingh came to the banks of the Ganges, to pay his respects to him; but as he did not pay the revenues of his territory for three years back, he was confined for a few days, till his ac-

counts were settled, and then he was released. The Sultan crossed the river, chastised some riotous zemindars, and returned to Delhi. He did not remain there many days, before he drew his army towards Mewat, from whence he drove the rebels to the hills, and ravaging their country, returned to Delhi; and permitting his Omrahs to retire to their jagiers, he gave himself up to pleasure and festivity.

But the inhabitants of Mewat, rendered more desperate and distressed by the King's bad policy in ruining their country, were obliged to prey upon their neighbours, and to infest all the adjacent countries. This circumstance obliged the King, in the year 829, to collect again an army to subdue them. Upon his approach, Jillu and Kiddu, the grandsons of Badhader Nahir, retreated to the hills of Alwar, where they defended the passes with great bravery. Being, at length, reduced to great distress, they surrendered themselves, were imprisoned, their country was again ravaged, and the Sultan returned to Delhi.

But the distresses of the people of Mewat did not render them peaceable subjects. The King, after a recess of four months only, was again obliged to turn his arms against them, and to carry fire and sword through their whole country. He proceeded as far as Biana, where, after the death of Amir, his brother Mahommed held the chief sway. Upon the approach of the Emperor, Mahommed shut himself up in the city, which he held out against Mubarick sixteen days; but, upon the desertion of the greatest part of the garrison, he surrendered at discretion, and was, with a rope about his neck, brought into the presence. The Sultan delivered the city to the care of Mackbul, and sent Mahommed and his family to Delhi. To Malleck Topha he gave in charge the town of Sikri, known now by the name of Fattipoor, marched to Gualier, raised contributions there, and returned to Delhi. He removed, at that time, Hassen from the government of



Moultan to that of Firoza, bestowing the former upon Malleek Rigib.

During these transactions Mahommed found means to escape, with his family, to Mewat, and collecting a considerable force, took the city of Biana, in the absence of Mackbul, on an expedition to Mahaban. The Sultan dispatched Mubariz, whom he appointed to that government, to drive Mahommed from thence. Mahommed retired into the fort, when Mubariz took possession of the country. After a few days' siege he left the defence of the place to some trusty friends, and issuing out himself, escaped to Ibrahim, King of the East, who was advancing with an army against Calpee.

Kadir Shaw, governor of Calpee, upon this occasion sent expresses to Delhi, for succours. Mubarick hastened to his relief, and having reached Aterawli, detached Hassen, with ten thousand horse, against Muchtiss Chan, the brother of Ibrahim, who was in motion with a considerable force to reduce Attava. This detachment, however, encountering Muchtiss, drove him back to his brother, and Hassen returned to the army. Ibrahim advanced along the banks of the Black River to Burhanabad, from thence to the village of Raberi, and so on to the banks of Kinhire, where he encamped. Mubarick, in the mean time, crossing the Jumna, near Chundwar, encamped within ten miles of the enemy. Both armies remained in their trenches for the space of twenty-two days, during which time slight skirmishes daily happened between them. Ibrahim, however, upon the 7th of the second Jemmad, marched out of his camp, and offered battle to the King. Mubarick, though he declined to risk his own person, ordered out his army to oppose Ibrahim, under the command of his vizier, Seid ul Sadit, and Seid Sallam.

The action commenced, with great fury, about noon, and night parted the combatants; both armies retreating to their respective camps. Ibrahim, however, marched off, in the morning, towards Jionpoor, while



Mubarick, contenting himself with the advantage he had gained, returned towards Gualier, crossing the river at Hitgaut. Having received there the usual presents, he turned off towards Biana, into which Mahommed had again thrown himself, after the battle. He made a gallant defence, but was again obliged to capitulate, and had leave to go whithersoever he pleased. Hassen was left in the government of that province; and on the 15th of Shaban, 831, Mubarick returned victorious and triumphant to Delhi. He there seized Malleck Mewati, who had joined himself to Ibrahim, and ordered him to be put to death.

In the month of Zicada the Sultan received advices, that Jisserit had sat down before Callanore, after having defeated Secunder, the late vizier, who had marched against him, and driven him back to Lahore. Mubarick sent an order to Zirick, governor of Samana, and Islam, who commanded at Sirhind, to join Secunder; but, before their arrival, he had marched towards Callanore, and defeated Jisserit in his turn; depriving him of all the plunder he had acquired in that province.

Mubarick marched to Mewat, in the month of Mohirrim, 832, and entirely subdued that country, obliging the inhabitants to pay a regular tribute. In the mean time advices arrived at Delhi, that Malleck Rigi was dead, upon which, the King conferred the title of Ameid ul Muluck upon Hassen, who had settled the affairs of Biana, and sent him governor to Moultan. The Sultan, in the following year, proceeded to Gualier, which country he ravaged, and carried off some thousands of the poor inhabitants into slavery. Turning then his forces towards Raberi, he wrested that country from the son of Hassen, gave it to Malleck Humza, and afterwards returned to Delhi. Seid Allum dying by the way, his eldest son had the title of Seid Chan conferred upon him, and the youngest that of Suja ul Muluck, together with all the wealth of their father, which was very great; though, according to the custom of Hindostan, it should become the property of the King.

his, and that it was very probable he might bring Fowlad to punishment. Fowlad, after the conference was over, revolved this intimation in his own mind, and repeated seriously of his promise ; and therefore, as he had both money and provisions, he determined to hold out to the last.

The King seeing that the taking of the place would be a work of time, and that there would be no occasion for so great an army to besiege it, he permitted Ameid ul Muluck to return with the forces of Moultan, and leaving Islam Lodi, Cummal, and Firose, to carry on the siege, he himself retired to Delhi. Fowlad, having held out six months, was greatly distressed, and saw no means of extricating himself, but by an alliance with Ali, governor of Cabul, on the part of Sharoch, the Mogul Emperor. He sent, for this purpose, messengers to him, with large promises for his assistance. As Mubarrick had taken no pains to keep upon good terms with the Mogul, the latter left Cabul, and, being in his way joined by the Gickers, crossed the Bea, and ravaged the country of those Omrahs who carried on the siege ; and advancing towards Tibberhind, the imperial army decamped and fled. Fowlad, for this signal service, gave to Ali two lacks of rupees, and other presents ; and having given to him all the charge of his family, exerted himself in repairing the fortifications, and laying in provisions and ammunition.

Ali, crossing the Suttuluz, committed cruel depredations upon the unhappy country, acquiring of plunder twenty times the value of the subsidy which he had received from Fowlad. Advancing then to Lahore, he raised the usual tribute from Secunder, then returned towards Dibalpoor, desolating the country wherever he went ; insomuch that forty thousand Hindoos were computed to have been massacred, besides a great number carried away prisoners. Ameid ul Muluck posted himself to oppose Ali, at the town of Tilbanna, but he gave him the slip, and went to Chitpoor, when Ameid received the King's orders to retreat to save

These favours, however, did not secure the faith of the sons of Seid Allum, for they sent Fowlad, a Turkish slave, to Tibberhind, to stir up privately, in their name, an insurrection there. They had formed hopes, it is said, that they might be sent with a force to suppress the rebellion, and so have an opportunity to join the rebels. But the plot was discovered, and both imprisoned; while, in the mean time, Eusuph and Ibbu were sent to Tibberhind to confiscate their estates, and suppress the disturbance raised by Fowlad.

Fowlad entering into a negotiation, lulled into a negligent security the imperial generals, and sallying one night from his fort, surprised their camp. He was, however, so warmly received by the King's troops, that he was soon driven back. This did not deter him from making another effort next night, at the same time making a great discharge of artillery from the works, which struck a panic into the imperial troops, who took immediately to their heels, leaving their camp standing, with all their baggage. Mubarick, upon receiving advice of that disaster, was constrained to march towards Tibberhind in person. The rebel daily gathered strength, and the King was obliged to call Ameid ul Muluck from Moulton, and several other governors, to join him. Every thing for the expedition being prepared, Mubarick stopped at Sursutti, and dispatched the greatest part of his army to invest the fort of Tibberhind. Fowlad sent a message to the imperial camp, importing, that he had great confidence in Ameid ul Muluck, and said, that if he should be sent with promise of pardon, he himself would deliver up the place. The Emperor accordingly sent Ameid to Tibberhind, where Fowlad met him a little without the gate. Having accordingly received assurances of pardon, he promised to give up the place the next day. But one of Ameid's attendants, who was of Fowlad's acquaintance, told him privately, that though Ameid was a man of strict honour, and would certainly adhere to his promise, yet the King might not be so tender of preserving

his, and that it was very probable he might bring Fowlad to punishment. Fowlad, after the conference was over, revolved this intimation in his own mind, and repented seriously of his promise; and therefore, as he had both money and provisions, he determined to hold out to the last.

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Moultan. The flight of the imperial army encouraged the enemy to follow them beyond the Ravi, and to lay waste the country to within ten crores of Moultan. Ali defeated there Islam Lodi, who had been left to stop his progress.

From thence the Moguls advanced to Cheirabad, within six miles of the city, and the next day, which was the fourth of Ramzan, they made an assault upon the place, but were beaten back. They continued, however, from their camp to make daily excursions towards the city, putting all whom they could meet to the sword.

The King being informed of these transactions, sent Fatte Chan and Mubarick, with other Omrahs of distinction, to succour Ameid; who, upon being joined by all these with their forces, went out, and offered battle to Ali. Ali did not decline it, and a furious conflict ensued, in the beginning of which the Moguls gained some advantage. However, upon the death of Fatte Chan, the gale of fortune changed, and blew with the standards of Hindostan. Ali, at one stroke, played away all his gains, escaping, with a few attendants only, to Cabul, his whole army being either killed or drowned in the Gelum, in their precipitate flight.

Ameid, having pursued the runaways to Shinnore, returned victorious to Moultan, and the Omrahs, who had succoured him, repaired, by the King's orders, to Delhi; and soon after, Mubarick, jealous of the success of Ameid, called him also to court. Jisserit took advantage of his absence, crossed the Gelum, Ravi, and Bea, and fought Secunder, the late vizier, near Jilender, defeated and took him prisoner, with all his treasure and baggage. He forthwith advanced and besieged Lahore. Ali, at the same time, at the instigation of Jisserit, made another incursion towards Moultan, and, having taken Tilbunna by capitulation, he broke his word, plundered the place, massacred all the men able to bear arms, and carried their wives and children into captivity, laying the town in ruins.

Fowlad, taking also advantage of these disturbances, marched out of Tibberhind, and invading the country of Rai Firose, defeated him. Mubarick thought it now high time to march from Delhi. He accordingly, upon the first of the first Jemmad, 835, took the route of Lahore, appointing his vizier, governor of that place, and to command in the van of his army. The vizier arriving at Sammana, Jisserit raised the siege of Lahore, and retreated to the hills. Ali hastened back to Cabul, and Fowlad again shut himself up in Tibberhind. The Sultan, upon this, took the government of Lahore from the vizier, and gave it to Nuserit; then returning, encamped near Pauniput, on the banks of the Jumna, sending Ameid ul Muluck with a part of the army to suppress some insurrections about Gualier, and the vizier to besiege Tibberhind; he himself returning to Delhi.

In the month of Zihidge, Jisserit advanced again to Lahore, and commenced hostilities against Nuserit, which obliged the King, in the year 836, to march from Delhi as far as Sammana. Intelligence was brought to him in that place of the death of his mother, Muchduma Jehan, and he immediately returned, with a few attendants; and, after performing the funeral obsequies, went back to his army. After his arrival in the camp, he suddenly changed his resolution, and turned back towards Mewat, conferring the government of Lahore upon Malleck Lodi, who promised to expel Jisserit. But Jisserit, upon hearing of the King's return, was joined by a great body of Gickers, who imagined that his affairs bore a better aspect, so that he was in a condition to receive Lodi, whom he defeated.

The King having received the news of this overthrow, and also that Ali, governor of Cabul, was coming towards Tibberhind, took again the route of Punjaab, sending before him Ameid ul Muluck to reinforce the Omrahs who were besieging Tibberhind. Upon his approach, Ali, who stood in awe of him, laid aside his

intentions of coming to Tibberhind, and turned away, by forced marches, towards Lahore, which he surprised, and began a horrid scene of massacre and depredation. But hearing that the King had reached Tilbundi, Ali left a garrison of two thousand men in the place, and retreated towards Cabul, ravaging the country in his way, and leaving his nephew, Muziffer, in the fort of Shinnore.

The King a second time raised Secunder, who had ransomed himself, to the government of Lahore, Dibalpoor, and Jillender, upon which he advanced and laid siege to the city. He took it by capitulation, and permitted the garrison to retire to Cabul. He immediately crossed the Ravi, near Tilbundi, and invested Shinnore. Muziffer held up in that place the standard of opposition for a whole month, but being hard pressed, he capitulated, by giving his daughter to the King, and paying a great ransom for his liberty. Mubarick left a great part of his army at Dibalpoor, and, with a select body, marched himself to Moulthan to visit the tombs of the saints, from whence he returned in a few days to his camp. He, at this time, divested Secunder of his government of Lahore, gave it to Ameid ul Muluck, and returned with great expedition to Delhi. Being jealous of the power of the vizier, he joined Kammal with him in the vizarit; and, the latter being esteemed a man of superior abilities, he soon gained the favour of his sovereign and the people.

The vizier, upon this, became dissatisfied, and began to project treason. Having gained over Sidarin and Sidpal, two great Hindoo chiefs of the tribe of Kittrie, Miran Sidder, deputy to the chief secretary Sammud, lord of the private chambers, and others, they watched an opportunity to assassinate the King. About this time, Mubarick had ordered a city to be founded upon the banks of the Jumna, calling it the city of Mubarick, and made an excursion towards Tibberhind, as it were to take the diversion of hunting. Having, on the way, received advices that Tibberhind was taken,



and being presented with the head of Fowlad, he returned to the new city. He there received intelligence that war was carrying on between Ibrahim, King of the Eastern provinces, and Hoshung of Malavi, near Calpie, which was a very agreeable piece of news to him, as he sought an opportunity to expel Ibrahim from his dominions. He therefore gave orders to muster his army, and pitching his tent without the city, delayed a few days in regulating and collecting his forces, during which time he continued to visit the new works without fear of danger, having never given offence to his nobility, except in changing or turning them out of their governments when they misbehaved.

Upon the ninth of the month of Rigib, in the year 837, according to his custom, he went to worship at a new mosque which he had built in the new city, with only a few attendants. The conspirators rushed in, in armour, with drawn swords upon him, and basely assassinated him. The vizier having previously settled matters with Mahommed, one of the grandsons of the emperor Chizer, raised that prince to the throne.

Mubarick reigned thirteen years, three months, and sixteen days. He was esteemed a man of parts, just and benevolent, and, though no great warrior, had he lived in a virtuous age, there is no doubt but he possessed talents which might render him worthy of a throne.

Little alteration happened in the north of Asia, during the reign of Mubarick. Sharoch sat on the throne of the Moguls, and seemed more inclined to rule his dominions with justice and equity, than to extend their limits towards India.



## MAHOMMED V.

ACCORDING to the custom of the world, which cannot subsist without rule, the same day that Mubarick was sent to eternity, Mahommed\* was established upon the throne. The ungrateful assassin, the vizier, received the title of Lord of the World, and seized upon the King's treasure, regalia, and other effects, discharging all the old Omrahs from office, and appointing new ones, who might, in time, serve his ambitious views.

Kummal, the deputy vizier, and other Omrahs, who were in the camp, having consulted among themselves, upon hearing of the King's death, resolved, rather than kindle a civil war in the country, to bear with the times, to pay allegiance to the new King, and to wait a more certain opportunity of taking revenge upon the conspirators. They came into the city and paid their compliments to Mahommed. The first preferment which the vizier gave away to facilitate his future schemes, was to appoint the two Hindoo conspirators to the governments of Biana, Amrohi, Narnoul, and Coram; and Miran Sidder, dignified with a title, was presented with a very considerable jagier. The son of Seid Salem was dignified with the title of Chan Azim, and the government of several countries were conferred upon him. But the Omrahs and dependants of Mubarick, were, by tricks and false accusations, killed, imprisoned, banished, robbed, or turned out of office.

A slave of the vizier, whose name was Rana, was sent collector of the revenues to Biana, but Eusoph Lodi fought and slew him near that place. At the same time, some of the Omrahs of the Emperors Mubarick and Chizer, who saw that there was a design on

\* \* His titles at length are, Sultan Mahommed Shaw, the son of Ferid, the son of the Emperor Chizer.

foot to deprive them of their jagiers, particularly Chimmun, governor of Budaoon, Malleck Lodi, who commanded at Simbol, Ali of Guzerat, and Amir, the Turk, erected the spear of rebellion, upon which the vizier, deceived by the behaviour of his deputy Kummal, gave him the command of the army, and sent Sidarin, and his own son Eusoph, along with him to suppress the rebels. But when they came to the village of Birren, Kummal intended to take revenge on Sidarin and Eusoph, for the murder of the King. He therefore acquainted Malleck Lodi of his resolutions, who, for that reason, made no motion towards them. This design being, however, discovered to the vizier, he sent Hoshiar, his own slave, with a great army, under pretence of succours, with private instructions to prevent the effects of the plot. Kummal had at Ahare joined his forces with Malleck Lodi, before the reinforcement under the vizier's slave arrived. Hoshiar, hearing of this junction, thought that there was no safety for him, and he therefore fled with Eusoph and Sidarin to Delhi. Kummal immediately sent to call the disaffected Omrahs, who joined him without delay, so that, upon the last of Ramzan, he moved with a great army towards Delhi.

The vizier shut himself up in the citadel of Seri, which he held out three months; but as the party of Kummal daily gained strength and reputation, he was driven to great distress. The King, perceiving that his own affairs would be ruined if he should adhere to the vizier, endeavoured to conciliate matters with the besiegers, and, at the same time, sought an opportunity of making his escape, or cutting off the vizier. The vizier discovering this plot, designed to be beforehand with the King; accordingly upon the eighth of Mohirrim, with the sons of Miran Sidder, and with some of his own adherents, he broke into the King's apartment. But the Emperor, having suspected him of such intentions, had privately a guard at hand, who, on a signal given, rushed upon the conspirators. They

immediately betook themselves to flight; but the vizier was cut to pieces, as he was rushing out at the door, and thus met the fate he designed for his lord. The sons of Miran Sidder, and the rest of the assassins, were taken and put to death, while Hoshiar and one Mubarick, who were parties concerned, were publicly executed. The Kittries, and other adherents of the vizier, afraid for themselves, rose up in arms. The King was obliged to shut himself up, ordering the Bagdat-gate to be thrown open to the besiegers, who rushing in accordingly, began a dreadful massacre among the rebels till they entirely subdued them. Such as remained alive were bound and put to death at the tomb of the Emperor Mubarick.

Kummal and the other Omrahs swore allegiance the next day, for the second time, to Mahommed; the vizarit was conferred on Kummal, and Chimun was dignified with the title of Ghazi Malleck, with a jagier. The other Omrahs were confirmed in their former offices, governments, and estates. When matters were completely settled at Delhi, the King, by the advice of his counsellors, made a campaign towards Moulton, and encamping near the city of Mubarick, gave orders to draw together his army from all the provinces. Many of the chiefs being intimidated, delayed to repair to the imperial standard till Ameid ul Muluck arrived from Moulton, adding power to enforce the royal commands by a numerous army which he brought with him. All the other provincial Omrahs hastened to the camp, and were honoured with dresses, and other marks of favour and distinction. The King moved towards Moulton to make a parade with his army, and having visited the tombs of the saints, returned to his capital.

In the year 840, he marched towards Sammana, and detached a part of his army against Jisserit, the Gicker, who was raising disturbances. The country of Jisserit was plundered, and the King returned to Delhi, where he gave himself up entirely to pleasure, neglecting all the cares and necessary affairs of govern-

ment. The accounts of the King's luxurious indolence soon affected the state. Dissatisfaction began to appear first in Moulton, where a tribe of Patans, called Linga, rose in rebellion. At the same time Beloli Lodi, who after the death of his uncle Islam became governor of Sirhind, without any orders, possessed himself of the city and districts of Lahore and Debalpoor, with all the country back to Panniput.

The Sultan receiving intelligence of this revolt, sent his whole army against him, who drove him back to the hills. In the retreat many chiefs of distinction were put to the sword; but Beloli recruited his army, and when the imperial forces were withdrawn, he again possessed himself of all the countries from which they had driven him. Mahommed, this time, sent Hissam Chan, the vizier's deputy, against him, who was defeated, and beat back to Delhi; upon which, Beloli wrote to the King, that if he would put Hissam to death, who, by his intrigues, had been the occasion of this rebellion, he would lay down his arms.

The King was weak enough to listen to this arrogant proposal, and accordingly gave orders for the death of Hissam. He also deprived Kummal of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Hamid, appointing another person deputy, with the title of Hissam Chan. The governors of the provinces observing this pusillanimous and impolitic behaviour of the King, predicted his destruction, and endeavoured to secure their own independency; while the subjects and zemindars, foreseeing the convulsions that must happen in the state, withheld their rents, in hopes that they might be passed over in the general confusion.

Ibrahim, sovereign of the eastern provinces, possessed himself of several districts adjoining to his dominions; and Mahmood Chilligi\*, King of Malava,

\* He was descended of the Emperor Feroze I. of the tribe of Chilligi, Emperors of Delhi.

made an attempt on the capital; and, in the year 844, advanced within two crores of the city. Mahommed, struck with terror in this urgent situation of affairs, imprudently sent an embassy to Beloli, to beg his assistance. Beloli accordingly, with twenty thousand Persian horse, came to Delhi; Mahommed, though his army was greatly superior to the enemy, was afraid to take the field by himself, but committed the charge of the whole to his Omrahs, and reposed himself in the haram. The Omrahs, according to orders, advanced with the army against the enemy, Beloli leading the van.

When Mahmood Chilligi was given to understand that the King of Delhi was not present, he thought it was meant as an affront to him; and, to be on a footing with Mahommed, he committed the charge of his army to his sons Yeaz ul Dien and Kuddir Chan. The two armies having engaged, the troops of Delhi gave way, and left Beloli alone to dispute the field, which he maintained with invincible resolution, till the fugitives, ashamed of their behaviour, returned to the camp. Night, however, coming on, the victory was left undecided. Mahmood Chilligi was greatly frightened by a dream that night, and having heard, in the morning, that Sultan Ahmed, of Guzerat, was advanced as far as Mundo, he was more and more intimidated, and began to be desirous of making peace: but shame prevented him from expressing his wishes. At the same time, Mahommed, with less reason, and contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, gave himself up to base fear, and sent ambassadors with presents to his rival to beg peace.

Mahmood Chilligi was overjoyed at these proposals, which saved the appearance of his reputation, and immediately accepting them, marched from the field. Beloli, who now began justly to despise them both, and to aspire to the empire, marched out of the city with his own troops, and pursuing Mahmood Chilligi, attacked him upon his march, defeated him, and took all

his baggage. The weak Sultan, who did not hitherto see through his palpable intentions, gave him the title of first of the nobles\*, and adopted him for his son.

In the year 845, the Emperor marched to Sammana, giving the governments of Lahore and Debalpoor to Beloli, and ordering him to expel Jisserit. He himself returned to his capital. Beloli, by this means, became extremely powerful, and recruited a great army of Afghans; but, instead of fighting Jisserit, he brought him over to his party, and began to seize upon several districts, without any orders from the King. At length, without any apparent reason but his ambition, he drew his army against Delhi, which he besieged for some months, but, in the end, was obliged to abandon his enterprise.

The King's power was greatly weakened, and began to decay very rapidly. The zemindars of Biana put themselves under the government of Mahmood Chilligi. In the mean time, Mahommed fell sick and died in the year 849, leaving behind him the character of a weak, dissolute, and unwarlike prince; owing to the ambition of others a throne, upon which he could not sit with dignity himself. He reigned twelve years and some months, and his son Alla succeeded him in the empire.

Sharoch, Emperor of the Moguls, dying this year, the conquests of Timur were divided among his grandchildren, the sons of the prince Basinkar. The eldest son of Sharoch, the famous Ulug-Bec, enjoyed the imperial titles, but his power was confined to the western Tartary, or Transoxiana. The eldest son of Basinkar possessed himself of the extensive province of Chorassan, and the countries towards the Indus; Abul Kasem, the third son, reigned over Mazinderan and Georgia; and Mahommed, the second son of Basinkar, became sovereign of all the western Persia. The empire of Delhi, though it was in some measure restored by Chizer and Mubarick, was far from being

\* Chan Chanân.

as extensive, as it was before the invasion of Timur. Mahommedan princes possessed the south-east provinces, and a kind of empire was long established in the Decan, independent of the crown of Delhi.

## ALLA II.

ALLA\*, the son of Mahommed, mounted the throne upon the demise of his father. All the Omrahs, excepting Beloli Lodi, came and swore allegiance to him. This contempt of Beloli, the new Sultan was in no condition to chastise. But having collected an army, in the beginning of the year 850, he marched to recover Biana. When he was upon the way, there was a rumour propagated, that the King of the East was advancing towards Delhi, which, though false, brought back the Emperor to his capital; though he was told by Hissam, the vizier, how ridiculous it would appear in a King to be guided by a vague report. This reprimand brought upon the vizier Alla's displeasure.

This step, however, proved ruinous to the Sultan's reputation, and the meanest of the people feared not to say publicly, that he was a weaker man, and a greater fool, than his father. He marched in the following year to Budaoon, where he remained some time, laying out gardens, building pleasure-houses, and making entertainments, and then returned to Delhi. Pretending that the air of Budaoon agreed better with his health, he expressed an inclination of making that city his residence, to divert him from which, the vizier took much pains, but only incurred more and more of his displeasure.

All Hindostan was, at this time, divided into separate states; for in the Decan, Guzerat, Malava, Jionpoor, and Bengal, there were princes who assumed the

\* His titles were, Sultan Alla ul Dien Ben Mahommed Shaw.

style and dignity of Kings ; while Punjab, Debalpoor, and Sirhind, even to Panniput, was possessed by Beloli. Merowli, and all the country to the Serai of Lado, within fourteen miles of Delhi, were in the hands of Ahmed of Mewat; Simbol, close to the walls of this city, was possessed by Deria Lodi; Kole, by Isah; Rabari, by Cuttub, the Afghan; Cumpela and Pattiali, by the Indian prince Partab; Biana was subject to Daood Lodi; so that the city of Delhi, and a few small districts, remained only to the King.

Beloli made, about this time, another attempt upon the city, but was not more successful than he was before. The King, relieved from this danger, began to consult the means to recover part of his lost empire, advising with Cuttub Isah, and Partab. These chiefs, desirous to weaken him still more, told him that the Omrahs were all disgusted with his vizier; that, should he be turned out of office and imprisoned, they were ready to pay him due allegiance, and made no doubt but the affairs of the empire would put on a more favourable aspect. The weak Alla became the dupe of those traitors, and accordingly imprisoned and disgraced his vizier. He immediately ordered preparations to be made for removing his court to Budaoon, from which not all the remonstrances of his best friends could restrain him; though they represented in a strong light, how impolitic it would be, at such a juncture, to change his capital.

Alla accordingly, in the year 852, set out for Budaoon, leaving Hissam in the government of Delhi. When the Sultan arrived at his new capital, Cuttub and Partab waited upon him, and told him, that as long as the vizier was alive, the Omrahs could not be brought to trust themselves at court. The weak King was prevailed upon to command him to be put to death; but the vizier's brother having notice given him of this bloody purpose, found means, with the assistance of some of his friends, to release him, and to escape to



Delhi. He there took immediate possession of all the King's effects, and turned his haram out of the city.

Alla put off the time by ridiculous procrastinations, and vain excuses of the weather, and unlucky times, till the vizier had called Beloli to take upon him the empire. Beloli, glad of the opportunity, amused the Sultan, by writing to him, that he was coming to chastise the vizier, till he arrived and took possession of the city, taking upon himself the title of Sultan Beloli. He, however, gave place to the name of Alla, in the Chutba, in the year 854.

He gave the city in charge to his son, Chaja Baezid, marched in person to Debalpoor, and collected together a great army of Afghans. He wrote, at the same time, to Alla that, upon his account, he had expelled the vizier; and he received for answer, from that weak prince, that as his father had adopted Beloli as his son, he would esteem him his brother; he moreover promised to cede to him the empire, upon condition that he would permit him to live quietly in the possession of Budaoon. Beloli threw immediately the name of Alla out of the Chutba, and spread the umbrella of empire over his own head. Alla remained at Budaoon till his death, which happened in the year 883; his reign in Delhi being seven years, and his government of Budaoon near twenty-eight: a weak, and sometimes a wicked prince, while he retained the empire; in a private station, a peaceable, if not a virtuous man.

Persia, and the western Tartary, were in confusion during the short reign of Alla, by means of a series of hostilities between the descendants of Timur, who had divided his conquests among them. The Mogul empire ceased, in fact, to exist, though Abu-Seid, the son of Miran Shaw, and grandson of Timur, kept up the name of it, in the western Tartary and Chorassan.

## BELOLI.

BELOLI was an Afghan, of the tribe of Lodi, which people, forming themselves into a commercial society, carried on a trade between Persia and Hindostan. In the time of the Emperor Ferose, Ibrahim, the grandfather of Beloli, being possessed of wealth, made his way at the court of Delhi, and raised himself to the government of Moultan. Ibrahim had five sons, Sultan, Culla, Firose, Mahommed, and Chaja, who, on the death of their father, remained in Moultan.

When Chizer, afterwards Emperor, was appointed to that government, Sultan received the command of all his Afghan troops. In the action which Chizer had with Eckbal, Sultan had the good fortune to kill Eckbal, by which means he became a great favourite with Chizer. He was accordingly appointed by that prince governor of Sirhind, with the title of Islam Chan, while his brothers partook of his fortune; one of whom, Calla, the father of Beloli, had a district bestowed upon him by his brother. The wife of Calla, who was his own cousin, being smothered by the fall of a house when with child, the father instantly ripped up her belly, and saved the life of the infant, who afterwards held the empire, by the title of Sultan Beloli.

Calla being killed in an action with the Afghans of Neaz, Beloli went to his uncle Islam, at Sirhind, and upon his distinguishing himself in a battle, his uncle gave him his daughter in marriage. Islam was at this time so powerful, that he retained twelve thousand Afghans, mostly of his own tribe, in his service.

Islam, at his death, though he had children of his own come to maturity, recommended Beloli to succeed him. The troops upon this divided into three parties, one of which adhered to Beloli, one to Firose, brother to Islam, who had been made an Omrah by the King

of Delhi, and the other to Cuttub, the son of Islam. But Beloli, who was the most artful of the three, found means to weaken his rivals, and increase his own power.

Cuttub repaired to Delhi, and acquainted the Emperor Mahommed V. that the Afghans of Sirhind were establishing a power, which, unless it was soon prevented, would shake the empire. The Emperor immediately dispatched his vizier Secunder, with a powerful army, to bring the chiefs of the Afghans to court, and if they disobeyed, to expel them from Sirhind. Jisserit was also instigated to take arms against them, by which means they were, in the end, driven to the hills; but upon a promise of peace, and of their future good behaviour, Firose left his son Shai Chan and Beloli with his army, and, with some attendants, went to Jisserit and Secunder. They, notwithstanding their promise, by the advice of Cuttub, his nephew, who was in the imperial camp, imprisoned him and slew all his attendants. They also dispatched part of their army to reduce Beloli, but he retreated to a place of safety, with the women and children. Before he could join Shai Chan, he was attacked and defeated, and a great part of his army slain.

When Jisserit had retired to Punjab, Beloli collected the remains of his tribe, and began to raise contributions, or plunder wherever he could; and as he was extremely generous in dividing the spoil among his followers, he soon became very powerful. Some time after, Firose made his escape from Delhi, and joined him; and even Cuttub, repenting of his former behaviour, found means to be reconciled to Beloli. Beloli soon after invaded Sirhind, and possessed himself of that province. Upon receiving intelligence of these transactions, the Emperor Mahommed sent Hissam, his vizier, with a great army against him. Beloli took the field, and giving the vizier battle, defeated him, by which his power and reputation greatly increased.

We are told, that when Beloli was yet a youth in his uncle's service, one day he was permitted to pay his

respects to a famous Dirvesh of Sammana, whose name was Sheidai. When he sat in a respectful posture before him, the Dirvesh cried out, in an enthusiastic manner, "Who will give two thousand rupees for the empire of Delhi?" Upon which, Beloli told him, he had only one thousand six hundred rupees in the world, which he ordered his servant to bring immediately and present to the Dirvesh. The Dirvesh accepted the money, and, laying his hand upon the head of Beloli, saluted him King.

The companions of Beloli ridiculed him very much for this action; but he replied, "That, if the thing came to pass, he had made a cheap purchase; if not, the blessing of a holy man could do him no harm." Upon a mind naturally ambitious, and in an age of superstition, this prediction of the Dirvesh might have great effect in promoting its own end; for when a man's mind is once bent upon the attainment of one object, the greatest difficulties will be often surmounted, by a steady perseverance. But to return from this digression.

After Beloli had defeated the vizier, he wrote to the Emperor Mahommed, as before related, laying the whole blame of his rebellion upon the vizier's conduct towards him. When Mahommed basely complied with his desire of cutting off the vizier, Beloli, according to his promise, waited upon the King, that he might be better able to carry on his intrigues at court. He managed his affairs at Delhi so well, that the government of Sirhind was conferred upon him, together with other districts near it, confirmed to him in jagier; which were the means that enabled him to mount the throne, as we have already seen, in the former reign. He had, at the time of his accession, nine sons, Chaja Baezid; Nizam, who was afterwards King, under the name of Secunder; Barbec, Mubarick, Alla, Jemmal, Jacob, Musah, and Jellal; and of Omrahs of renown, who were related to him, there were thirty-six in the empire.

As Hamid, the vizier, who conferred the empire upon him, had great influence still in the state, he treated him for some time with honour and respect. Being one day in Hamid's house, at an entertainment, he ordered the companions whom he carried with him, to make themselves appear as foolish and ridiculous as possible, that the vizier might consider them as silly fellows; that so he might be less upon his guard against them. When they accordingly came into company, some tied their shoes to their girdles, and others put them up in the niches of the apartment. Hamid asked them the reason of that extraordinary behaviour. They replied, that they were afraid of thieves. When they had taken their seats upon the carpet, one of them began to praise the flowers, and brightness of the colours, saying, He would be extremely glad to have such a carpet, to send home to his own country, to make caps for his boys. Hamid laughed, and told him he would give him velvet or brocade for that purpose. When the plates and boxes of perfumes were laid before them, some began to rub the finest otter of roses all over them, others to drink it, and others to devour whole festoons of flowers, while the beetle stood no chance, but was eat up, cover and all; some who had eat large pieces of chunam, by having their mouths burnt, made a terrible outcry; and, in this kind of foolery, every one was endeavouring to outdo another, while the King and the vizier were almost bursting with laughter.

The vizier, imagining that this behaviour proceeded from the King's humour, who had a mind to make merry in his house, was extremely pleased, and had no suspicion of men given to so much mirth. The next visit the King paid to Hamid, a greater number of his attendants were admitted: but as Hamid had still a greater number of his own friends within the court, it was necessary to gain admission for some more of the King's people, who were stopped without by the guards. The King having before instructed them how to proceed in this case, they began loudly to wrangle with

the guard, and threw out bitter invectives against the King, for permitting them to be so unworthily treated. They even swore that they respected the vizier, and would see him.

The vizier hearing this, ordered the doors to be thrown open, and as many to be admitted as the court could contain. This point being gained, the King gave the signal, and all his people drawing at once, told Hamid's servants to remain quiet, and they should come to no harm. Upon which, two or three seized the vizier and bound him. The King then told him, that gratitude was a security for his life, but that it was necessary he should retire from business, and spend the rest of his days in the cares of a future state. After this the King ruled without fear or controul.

The same year, the 855th of the Higera, he left Delhi under the charge of his eldest son Baezid, and marched towards Moulton to recruit his army, and to regulate all the western provinces. Some of his Omrahs being dissatisfied at this time, left him, and joined Mahmood, King of Jionpoor, who during the absence of Beloli, in the beginning of the year 856, advanced with a great army and laid siege to Delhi. Beloli hastened from Debalpoor, march by march, nor halted till he reached Perah, within thirty miles of Delhi.

Mahmood sent thirty thousand horse, and thirty elephants, under the command of Herevi against him. When the action began, Cuttub, who excelled in archery, having sunk an arrow in the forehead of one of Herevi's elephants, the animal became outrageous, and broke the lines. Cuttub in the mean time advancing against Diria Lodi, one of the disaffected Omrahs who had joined Mahmood, cried out—"For shame! Diria, where is your honour, thus to wage war against your own kindred, and to invest your wife and family in the city of Delhi, when you ought rather to defend them against your natural enemies?" "Pursue me not," said Diria, "and I am gone;" and he immediately wheeled off, followed by all the Patans, or Afghans, in

Herevi's army. The other troops being thus deserted gave way, and Herevi was taken prisoner; but having, with his own hand, just killed the brother of Rai Kirren, that Omrah in revenge struck off his head and sent it to the Emperor. Upon receiving the news of this defeat, Mahmood raised the siege of Delhi, and retreated with great precipitation to Jionpoor.

The power of Beloli became firmly established, and he began to turn his thoughts upon new acquisitions. His first movement was towards Mewat, where Hamid, the vizier, submitted himself to his authority. The Emperor took seven pergunnahs from Hamid, and permitted him to hold the remainder in fee. Beloli from thence marched to Birren, and Diria governor of Simbol presented him with seven more pergunnahs, and submitted in like manner. He then took the route of Koli, and confirmed Isah in that government. He continued his progress to Burhanabad, and gave that province to Mubarick, while Boga was delivered over to Rai Partab. But when he advanced to Raberi, Cuttub, the son of Hassen, the governor, shut himself up in the fort; but the King took it in a few days by capitulation, and again settled him in the same government. Beloli marching from thence to Attava, regulated that government, and confirmed the former Suba.

An Omrah called Jonah quitted about this time the court in disgust, and joined Mahmood King of the East, from whom he received the government of Shumseabad. Jonah instigated Mahmood to make another attempt upon Delhi, who for that purpose took the route of Attava, where he met Beloli. The armies, the first day of their appearance in sight, on both sides sent out parties to skirmish, but nothing remarkable was done, and the next day they began to treat, when it was agreed that Beloli should keep possession of all the countries possessed by the Emperor, Mubarick, and that Mahmood should hold all that was in the possession of Sultan Ibrahim of Jionpoor; that the former should give up all the elephants taken in the engage-

ment with Herevi, and the latter turn Jonah out of his government.

Mahmood, immediately after this pacification, returned to Jionpoor, and Beloli went to Shumseabad to take possession of it. This latter expedition of Beloli greatly offended Mahmood, and he immediately returned to Shumseabad, where the Omrahs, Cuttub and Diria, surprised his camp in the night. But during the attack, the horse of Cuttub having trod upon a tent-pin, threw him, and he was taken by the enemy, and his party retreated to their own camp. Beloli drew out his army in the morning, but received advice that Mahmood had just expired, and that the Omrahs had set up his son Mahommed; and, by the mediation of Bibi Raja, the young King's mother, who probably had received previous assurances, a peace was immediately concluded. Mahommed returned to Jionpoor, and Beloli took the route of Delhi.

Before the King arrived at the capital, he received a letter from Shumse Chatoon, the sister of Cuttub, conjuring him, in the most tender manner, not to suffer her brother to remain in captivity. This prevailed upon Beloli to break the peace he had just concluded, and to march towards Jionpoor. Mahommed met him near Sirsutti. The younger brother of Mahommed, Hassen, fearing his brother's resentment for some trespass, took this opportunity of marching off, with all his adherents, to Kinnoge. Sittal, his other brother, soon followed him; but the detachment which Beloli had sent after Hassen, met Sittal on the way, and took him prisoner. Beloli determined to keep him as a ransom for Cuttub.

In the mean time, the Omrahs conspired against Mahommed, King of the Eastern provinces, and having assassinated him, advanced Hassen his brother, who had fled to Kinnoge, to the throne. Beloli, for what reason we know not, took no advantage of these disorders, but now entered into a truce with Hassen for the space of four years; Cuttub and Sittal being inter-



changeably released. Beloli returned towards Shumseabad, whither Bir-Singi, the son of Rai Partab, came to pay his respects. But as his father had taken a standard and a pair of drums formerly from the Omrah Deria in an action, that base man thought to wipe off that dishonour by assassinating Bir-Singhi. Cuttub, the son of Hassen, Mubariz, and Rai Partab, differing with the cruel traitor about this murder, were obliged to fly to Hassen, King of the Eastern provinces. Beloli, after these transactions, returned to Delhi.

But, upon account of the rebellion of the viceroy of Moulton, and the disorders in Punjaab, he marched towards that quarter. Upon his way, he heard that the Eastern Monarch Hassen was advancing, in his absence, with a great army to take Delhi. He therefore, through necessity, returned, and leaving Delhi in charge of Cuttub and Jehan, he went out to meet the enemy. The two armies having met at the village of Chundwar, they skirmished without intermission for seven days. A peace was at length patched up for the term of three years. At the expiration of this truce, Hassen invested Attava, took it, and drew over Ahmed, governor of Mewat, and Rustum of Koli, to his interest, while Ahmed, who commanded at Selwan, and was also governor of Biana, struck money, and read the Chutba, in his name. Hassen, with one hundred thousand horse and a thousand elephants, marched from Attava towards Delhi; and Beloli, no ways intimidated by that great force, marched out boldly to meet him. The two armies having advanced to Battevara, encamped for some time in sight of each other, and after some skirmishes, in which there was no superiority of advantage on either side, they again struck up a peace. But this pacification was not permanent. Hassen advanced again towards Delhi some months after, and was opposed at the village of Sinkar, and obliged to depart upon peaceable terms.

Much about this time, the mother of Hassen, Bibi Raja, died at Attava, and the Raja of Gualier and

Cuttub went to console him upon that occasion. When, in discourse, Cuttub perceived that Hassen was a bitter enemy of Beloli, he began to flatter him after this manner:—"Beloli is one of your dependants, and cannot think of contending long with you. If I do not put you in possession of Delhi, look on my word as nothing." He then, with much art, got leave to depart from Hassen's court, and returned to Delhi, and there he told to Beloli that he had escaped with a great deal of difficulty from the hands of Hassen, who was meditating a fresh war against him.

About this time, the abdicated Emperor, Alla, died at Budaoon, upon which Hassen went to settle matters at Budaoon, and, after the funeral ceremonies were over, he took that country from the children of Alla. Marching from thence to Simbol, he imprisoned Mubarick, governor of that province, then marching towards Delhi, in the year 883, he crossed the river Jumna near Gutteruitch. Beloli, who was at Sirhind, upon receiving intelligence of this invasion, returned with all expedition to save his capital. Several slight actions ensued, in which Hassen had, in general, the advantage.

Cuttub dispatched a person to Hassen, informing him, that Beloli was ready to relinquish all the countries beyond the Ganges, upon condition that he should leave him in possession of all the provinces on this side of that river. These terms being accepted, they reversed their hostile spears, and Hassen marched homeward. But Beloli, in a perfidious manner, broke the peace, and pursuing Hassen, attacked him upon his march, killing a great number, and taking forty Omrahs prisoners, besides part of his treasure and equipage. Beloli pursued his victory, and took several districts belonging to Hassen, such as Campul, Pattiali, Shumseabad, Sickite, Marhera, Sittali, and Koli, appointing agents to manage them under himself. But when he had pursued Hassen as far as Arumbidger, the latter stood his ground, and engaged Beloli. The victory

being dubious, a peace was patched up between them, the village of Doupamou being settled as the boundary between the empires. After this pacification, Hassen proceeded to Raberi, and Beloli returned to Delhi.

Hassen could not, however, forget the perfidy of Beloli. He recruited his army, and some time after marched against him, and met him at the village of Sinhar, when an obstinate battle ensued, in which Hassen was defeated, and lost all his treasure and baggage; which, together with an addition of reputation, greatly promoted the affairs of Beloli. Hassen having retreated to Raberi, he was followed thither by Beloli, and upon standing a second engagement, he was again totally defeated. After the battle, he retreated towards Gualier; the Raja of Gualier brought him some lacks of rupees, elephants, horses, camels, and a fine set of camp equipage, and accompanied him to Calpie.

Beloli marched, in the mean time, to Attava, where he besieged Ibrahim, the brother of Hassen, and took the place by capitulation. He, however, generously made him a present of the fort, and proceeded to Calpie; Hassen met him upon the banks of the river, where they remained for some months. But Rai Chand of Buxar, coming over to Beloli, shewed him a passable ford in the river, by which he crossed, and attacking Hassen, defeated him and drove him to Jionpoor, upon which Beloli turned off to the left towards Kinnoge. Hassen again met him near that city, but he was once more defeated with great slaughter. His regalia and equipage were taken, and also the chief lady of his seraglio, Bibi Conza, the daughter of Alla, Emperor of Delhi, who was treated with great respect. Beloli returned, after this victory, to Delhi.

Having recruited and regulated his army, he advanced the spear of hostility again towards Jionpoor. He conquered that country, and gave it to Mubarick Lohani, leaving Cuttub, Jehan, and other Omrahs, at Migouli, to secure his conquests. He himself went to

Budaoon, where he soon after heard of Cuttub's death. Jehan, Mubarick, and other Omrahs, though they kept up the appearance of fidelity, were, after the death of Cuttub, concerting measures to throw off Beloli's yoke. Beloli being apprised of their intentions, marched towards Jionpoor, and drove away Hassen, who had made an attempt to recover it, and placed Barbee, one of his own sons, upon the throne of Jionpoor. He himself returned to Calpie, which he took, and gave to his grandson, Azim Hamaioon, the son of his eldest son Baizied. He directed then his march to Dolepore, raising a tribute upon the Raja of that place, who began to rank himself among Beloli's subjects. The King marched from thence to a place in the districts of Rintimpore, which he plundered, and soon after returned to Delhi.

Beloli being now extremely old, and infirmities beginning daily to increase upon him, he divided his dominions among his sons, giving Jionpoor to Barbec; Kurrah and Manikpore, to Mubarick; Barage to his nephew Mahommed, famous by the name of Kalla Par, or the Black Mountain; Lucknore and Calpee to Humaioon, whose father, Baezid, was assassinated a little before by his own servant; Budaoon to Chan Jehan, one of his old Omrahs, and a relation; and Delhi, with several countries between the two rivers, to his son Nizam, known afterwards by the name of Sultan Secunder, whom he appointed his successor in the imperial dignity.

Some time after this division, the Emperor proceeded to Gualier, and raising a tribute of eighty lacks of rupees from the Raja of that place, came to Attava, from whence he expelled Sickit Sing, and then turned his face towards Delhi. Falling sick upon his march, many of the Omrahs were desirous that he should alter his former will, with respect to the succession, which, they said, was the undoubted right of Humaioon, his grandson. The Sultana, upon this, wrote to her son

Nizam, who, having heard of his father's illness, was setting out from Delhi, by no means to come, otherwise he might be imprisoned by the Omrahs: at the same time the King, by the advice of some Omrahs, ordered public letters to be sent him to hasten him to the camp, that he might see him before his death. Nizam was greatly perplexed how to act upon this nice occasion. He, at length, was advised by Cuttuluk, the vizier of the Eastern Emperor Hassen, who was then prisoner at Delhi, to pitch his tents without the city, and to advance by very slow marches. In the mean time the King's disease overcame him, and he died at Malauli, in the pergunnah of Sikite, in the year 894, having reigned thirty-eight years, eight months, and seven days.

Beloli was, for those days, esteemed a virtuous and mild prince, executing justice to the utmost of his knowledge, and treating his courtiers rather as his companions than his subjects. When he came to the empire, he divided the public treasure among his friends, and could be seldom prevailed upon to mount the throne, saying, "That it was enough for him, that the world knew he was King, without his making a vain parade of royalty." He was extremely temperate in his diet, and seldom eat at home. Though a man of no great literature himself, he was fond of the company of learned men, whom he rewarded according to their merit. He had given so many proofs of personal bravery that none could doubt it; at the same time he was often cautious to excess, never choosing to trust much to chance, and delighting greatly in negotiation.

During the long reign of Beloli, in Delhi, the empire of Persia remained divided into a number of petty principalities, most of them subject to the descendants of Timur-Bec and Zingis Chan. Ismaiel, who afterwards founded the dynasty of the Sofis of Persia, began to make some figure in the Western Asia before the death of Beloli. Transoxiana, the most of Chorassan,

and the provinces towards the Indus, were subject to the posterity of Timur, who were engaged in almost uninterrupted hostilities against one another.

## SECUNDER I.

THE Omrahs, immediately upon the death of Beloli, formed themselves into a council, in which some appeared to be attached to the interest of Azim Humaioon, some to Barbec, the eldest son of the Sultan then living, and some to Nizam, who had assumed the name of Secunder, in consequence of his father's will. When they were debating, the mother of Secunder, whose name was Rana, originally a goldsmith's daughter, but raised to the Sultan's bed by the fame of her beauty, came behind the curtain, in the great tent, and made a speech to the Omrahs, in favour of her son. Upon which Isah, the nephew of Beloli, answered her, in a disrespectful manner, and concluded with saying, that a goldsmith's offspring was not qualified to hold the empire.

Firmill, who had been dignified by Beloli with the title of first of the nobles, a stout daring man, took him up, and told him, "That Beloli was yet scarce cold in his hearse, and that the man who threw such ungenerous aspersions upon his family ought to be despised." Isah replied, "That silence would better become him, who was only a servant of the state." Upon which the other rose up in a rage, and told him, he was indeed a servant of Secunder, and would maintain his right against all who durst oppose it. He rushed out of the council, followed by all his party, and carried off the body of the deceased King to Jellali, where he was met by Secunder, who there ascended his father's throne.

Secunder, sending the corpse of his father to Delhi, marched against Isah, and having defeated him, after-

wards forgave his offence. Returning then to Delhi, he, in the manner of his father, conferred favours upon all his kindred. Secunder had, at this time, six sons, Ibrahim, Jellâl, Ishmaiel, Hassein, Mahmood, and Hummaoon; and likewise fifty-three Omrahs of distinction of his own family, in his service.

Some time after his accession, Secunder marched towards Raberi, and besieged his own brother, Allum, in the fort of Chundwar, for some days. Allum evacuated the place, and fled to Isah Lodi, at Pattiali. Secunder gave Raberi to Firmilli, went, in person, to Attava, and calling Allum, his brother, to court, gave him possession of that country. He then advanced to Pattiali, engaged Isah a second time, wounded, and defeated him; after which Isah threw himself upon Secunder's mercy, was pardoned, and soon after died of his wound.

Secunder, about that time, sent a trusty person to Barbec, his brother, King of Jionpoor, desiring he would do him homage, and order his name to be read first in the Chutba all over his dominions. Barbec rejected these proposals, and Secunder marched against him. Barbec and Calla Par came out in order of battle to meet him. An action ensued, in which Calla Par, charging too far among the troops of Delhi, was taken prisoner. Secunder, upon seeing him, alighted from his horse, and embraced him, saying, that he esteemed him as his father, and begged to be looked upon as his son. Calla Par, confounded at the honour done him, replied, that, except his life, he had nothing to make a recompence for such kindness, desiring to get a horse, that he might show himself not wholly unworthy of the royal favour. He was accordingly mounted, and perfidiously sold his reputation for a compliment, turning his sword against Barbec; which circumstance, in some measure, contributed to the success of Secunder. The troops of Barbec seeing Calla Par charging them, imagined that all his forces were also gone over to the enemy, and betook themselves to flight. Barbec did all that bravery



could perform; but finding himself deserted, he fled to Budaoon, while Mubaric, his son, was taken prisoner. Secunder pursuing him close, invested Barbec in Budaoon, who, soon driven to distress, capitulated, and was received with great kindness and respect. The King carried Barbec with him to Jionpoor; but as Hassen, the expelled King of the eastern provinces, was still a powerful prince in Behar, he thought Barbec would be the properest person to check him, and accordingly confirmed him as before in the government of Jionpoor; leaving, however, some trusty friends at his court, upon whom he bestowed estates and jurisdictions, to keep them firm in his own interest.

Secunder returning to Calpie, took the place from his brother Azim Humaioon, and gave it to Mahmood Lodi. He marched from thence to Kurrah, and Talar the governor paying him homage, he confirmed him in his office; and turning towards the fort of Gualier, he sent one of his Omrahs Chaja with an honorary dress to Raja Maan, who dispatched his nephew with presents to accompany the King to Biana. Sherrif, the governor of Biana, met the Emperor upon friendly terms. The King ordered him to give up Biana, and he would appoint him governor of Tellasar, Chandwar, Marrara, and Sekite. Sherrif took Omar Serwani with him to put him in possession of the fort, but when he had got within the walls, he shut the gates upon Omar, and prepared to defend himself. The King despairing to reduce the place, went to Agra, where Hybut, who held that fort under Sherrif, as governor of Biana, shut the gates against him, contrary to his expectation. This insult enraged the Sultan to that degree, that he determined, let the event be what it would, to reduce Sherrif to his obedience. He accordingly, leaving part of his army to besiege Agra, returned in person, with the utmost expedition, towards Biana, which he immediately besieged. The siege proved long and bloody; however, Sherrif, in the end, was obliged to capitulate, in the year 897, and his go-



vernment was given to Firmilli, who had been dignified with the title of first of the nobles.

The fort of Agra falling about the same time into Secunder's hands, he returned to Delhi, where, in a few days, he received advices of an insurrection at Jionpoor, among the zemindars, to the number of one hundred thousand horse and foot; and that they had already slain Sheri, the brother of Mubarick the governor of Kurrah. Mubarick himself being driven from Kurrah, was taken prisoner by Rai Bhede of Battea, and Barbec obliged to go to Barage, to solicit the assistance of Calla Par; so that the King, after twenty-two days' respite at Delhi, was under the necessity of marching towards Jionpoor. When he arrived at Dilmow, he was joined by Barbec; and Rai Bhede hearing of Secunder's approach, released Mubarick, and the zemindars dispersed themselves. The Sultan carried Barbec to Jionpoor, and having left him there to punish the offenders, he spent a month in hunting about Oud. At Oud intelligence was brought to Secunder, that the zemindars had risen again, and besieged Barbec in Jionpoor. He ordered immediately that Calla Par, Humaioon Serwani, and Lowani, by the way of Oud, and Mubarick by the way of Kurrah, should march against them, and send Barbec prisoner to the presence. His orders were accordingly executed; Barbec was given in charge to Hybut and Omar Serwani, being esteemed an improper person for the government, and too dangerous to be trusted with his liberty.

The King after these transactions marched towards Chinar, which was held for Sultan Hassen of the East; upon his approach, the garrison made a sally, and were driven back into the fort; but Secunder, upon reconnoitring the place, looked upon it as almost impregnable, and immediately left it, marching his army towards Battea. Rai Bhede came out of Battea and paid him homage, upon which the King confirmed him in his dominions, and returned to Areil, ordering Rai Bhede to accompany him; but Rai Bhede, suspecting

some design against himself, left all his retinue, and deserted the camp alone. Secunder sent him back his effects. He, however, permitted his troops to plunder the country of Areil, and crossing the river, by the way of Kurrah, went to Dilmow, where he married the widow of Sheri, the late governor of that place. From Dilmow, Secunder marched to Shumseabad, where he remained six months, and then went to Simbol; but returning from thence in a few days to Shumseabad, he plundered the town of Mudeo-makil, where a band of banditti resided. Secunder spent the rainy season at Shumseabad. In the year 900, Secunder made another campaign towards Battea, defeating Bir Singh, the son of Rai Bhede, at Carrangatti, who fled to Battea; but upon the King's approach, Rai Bhede took the route of Sirkutch, and died upon his march. Secunder after this victory proceeded to Sezdewar; but provisions growing scarce in his camp, he was obliged to return to Jionpoor, having in this expedition lost a great part of his cavalry by fatigue, bad roads, and the want of forage.

Lickim, the son of Rai Bhede, and other zemindars, wrote to Sultan Hassen, the titular King of the East, now in possession of the province of Behar, that the cavalry of Secunder was now in a wretched condition, and that it was an excellent opportunity for him to take satisfaction for his former defeats. This induced Hassen to put his army in motion, and march directly against Secunder. The Emperor, hearing of his intentions, put his army upon the best footing possible, and crossed the Ganges to meet him, which he did thirty-six miles from Benaris: an obstinate battle was fought, in which Hassen was defeated, and fled to Battea.

Secunder leaving his camp with a proper guard, pursued the fugitives for three days with a party of horse; but hearing that Hassen was gone to Behar, he stopped, and upon the ninth day returned to his camp. He soon after marched with his whole army towards Behar,

but upon his approach Hassen left Cundu to guard the city, and fled himself to Calgaw, in the dominion of Bengal. Alla, then King of Bengal, called Hassen to his court, and treated him with the greatest respect during the remainder of his days, which he passed with him; so that with Hassen the royal line of Jionpoor was extinguished.

Secunder, from his camp at Deopar, sent a division of his army against Cundu, who evacuated the city and fled, leaving the whole country open to the enemy. The King left Mohabut with a force in Behar, and marched towards Turhat, the Raja of which submitted himself to his clemency, and laying down a large sum, agreed to pay an annual tribute. To collect the tribute, the Sultan left Mubarick, and returned to Derveshpoor, and from thence went to visit the tomb of Shech Sherrif at Behar, and distributed presents to the dirveshes who lived there upon the charity of pilgrims.

Secunder having regulated his army, marched towards Bengal; but when he had reached Cuttlishpoor, Alla King of Bengal sent Danial his son to oppose him. Secunder detached Zere Zichme, one of his generals, to acquaint him that he had no intention to subdue the country, but as their dominions now bordered upon each other, it became necessary to know upon what footing he must esteem Alla, before he left that country. The King of Bengal gladly accepted of a peace, wherein it was stipulated that neither monarch should permit any of their governors to invade each other's dominions, and that neither of them should give protection to the other's enemies.

Secunder returned to Dirveshpoor. Mubarick at that time dying, the care of Turhat was given to Azim Humaioon, the son of Chan Jehan; and Behar was bestowed upon Deria, the son of Mubarick. There happened at this time a great dearth in the country, but all duties being taken off by the King's order, that calamity was in a great measure mitigated. Secunder

in the mean time reducing the districts of Sarin, which were then in the hands of some zemindars, gave the lands in jagiers to some of his Omrahs; then returning by the way of Movilligur to Jionpoor, he resided there six months.

Secunder having asked the daughter of Sal Bahin, Raja of Battea, in marriage, the father refused to comply with his request. Secunder, to revenge this affront, put his army in motion against the Raja in the year 904, and marching to Battea, sacked it. After having ravaged the country round Bandugur, he returned to Jionpoor, where he spent some time in the civil regulations of the empire. About this time the accounts of Mubarick Lodi being inspected for the time of his administration in Jionpoor, and a great balance being found due to the royal revenue, the King ordered it to be levied upon him. This severity greatly disgusted the Omrahs, among whom Mubarick was very much esteemed. A faction accordingly arose in the army, which first discovered itself by private quarrels. For one day, as the Sultan and his court were playing a party at club and ball on horseback, the club of Hybut, by accident or design, wounded one Soliman in the head. Chizer, the brother of Soliman, came up and returned the compliment to Hybut; so that, in a few minutes, the parties on both sides joined in the quarrel, and the whole field was in one uproar and confusion.

Secunder, fearing a conspiracy, fled to the palace; but nothing of that kind transpiring, he made another party at the same game some days thereafter, and a quarrel of the same nature ensued, for which Shumse Chan, who begun it, was disgraced and bastinadoed. But the Sultan would not be satisfied but that there was some plot in agitation, and therefore ordered his guards to be selected, and to keep upon the watch. The King's jealousies were not groundless; for at that time, Hybut and two other chiefs had proposed to Fatti Chan, the King's brother, to cut off the Sultan, who,

they said, was now disliked by the generality of the chiefs, and to place Fatti upon the throne. Fatti, desiring some time to consider of it, disclosed the secret to Shech Cabuli and to his own mother, who advised him against so horrid an action; and, lest the affair should by any other means transpire, she desired him to acquaint the King of their proposal. This he did accordingly, and the conspirators were detached upon different services, where they were put to death by Secunder's orders.

Secunder, in the year 905, marched to Simbol, where he spent four years in pleasure, and in transacting civil affairs. But hearing of some bad administration of Asghir, the governor of Delhi; he sent an order to Chawass Chan, governor of Matchiwarri, to march to Delhi, and send Asghir prisoner to court. The governor receiving advice of this order, left Delhi, and threw himself at the King's feet, but not being able to form any excuse for his bad practices, he was ordered into confinement.

At this time there happened a remarkable instance of religious zeal and persecution. A Brahmin, whose name was Bhodin, upon being abused by a Mahommedan for his idolatry, happened to make a very moderate, but what proved to him a fatal reply. The reply was this: "That he esteemed the same God to be the object of all worship, and therefore believed the Mahommedan and Hindoo religions to be equally good." The bigoted Mahommedan, for what he thought the impiety of this answer, summoned the Brahmin immediately before the cazy, or chief judge of the city. The affair making some noise, by the various opinions of the public, the King called together all the Mahommedan doctors of fame in the empire to decide the cause. After many long disputes, the doctors brought in their opinion that the Brahmin ought to be forced to turn Mahommedan, or be put to death. The Brahmin, however charitable he might have been to all opinions upon religion, refused

to apostatise, and accordingly died a martyr to his faith, which reflects no small dishonour upon Secunder and his inquisitors.

When Chawass, whom we have already mentioned, entered Delhi, he found an order from the Emperor to proceed immediately to court, with which he instantly complied. At the same time a certain Omrah called Seid Sirwani came from Lahore, who was a man of a very factious disposition, and commenced some treasonable projects, for which he, Tattar, and Mahummud, were banished to Guzerat.

In the 907th of the Higera, Rai Man Sing, of Gualier, sent one of his dependants called Nehal to the King with rich presents; but as this ambassador talked in too high a strain, Secunder ordered him to depart, and declared war against his master. But he was prevented from the execution of his purpose for some time by the death of Firmilli governor of Biana, and by those disturbances in that province which succeeded that governor's death. The government of Biana having devolved upon Ameid Soliman, the son of Firmilli, who was yet too young and unexperienced for such a charge, the King gave that appointment to Chawass. Sifdar was sent with a force to reduce Agra, which belonged to the province of Biana, and had then revolted; another detachment being sent at the same time to reduce the fort of Dolipoor, which was in the possession of Raja Benacdeo, who had begun to make warlike preparations. Here Chaja Bein, a warrior of great fame, fell by the sword, which so irritated Secunder, who had a great esteem for him, that he marched himself against that place. Upon his approach Benacdeo left some friends in the fort, and fled towards Gualier, but the garrison the next night evacuated the place, and left the King to take possession of it. He tarried there about a month, and then marched to Gualier. The Raja of which place, changing his haughty style, now humbly sued for peace, sending to him Seid, Baboo, Rai Ginis, and others, who had at different



times fled from Secunder and taken protection under him. At the same time, he sent his own son Bicker-magit with presents, who had the address to procure peace.

Secunder returned to Dolipoor, which he again bestowed upon Benacdeo; then marching to Agra, he, for the first time, made that city imperial by fixing his residence there, and abandoning the city of Delhi. Here he remained during the rains, and in the year 910, marched towards Munderael, which he took, and destroyed the Hindoo temples, ordering mosques to be built in their stead. Secunder returning to Dolipoor, removed the Raja from his office, and gave it to one Kimir. He passed from thence to Agra, giving his Omrahs leave to return to their respective estates.

In the following year, upon Sunday the third of Siffer, there was a violent earthquake in Agra, so that the mountains shook on their broad bases, and every lofty building was levelled with the ground, some thousands being buried in the ruins. Secunder in the same year moved towards Gualier, and stopped by the way some time at Dolipoor, where he left his family, and with an unincumbered army of horse, proceeded to the hills to plunder some Hindoo Rajas, from whom he took great spoils, and ravaged their peaceful habitations. Just as the King was passing by the town of Javer, in the dominions of the Raja of Gualier, he was attacked by a resolute body of men, who had lain in ambush for him; but, by the bravery of Awid and Ahmed, the sons of Chan Jehan, the Hindoos were defeated, and a great number of Rajaputs put to the sword.

The Sultan returned to Agra; and in the year 912 he went towards the fort of Awintgur; and as he had despaired of reducing Gualier, he bent his whole strength to the reduction of this place. It was accordingly, in a short time, taken, and all the Rajaput garrison put to the sword, the temples destroyed, and mosques ordered to be built in their place. This government was conferred upon Bickin, the son of Mu-

jahid Chan, when some envious persons gave the King information that Mujahid had taken a bribe from the Raja of Awintgur, when they were marching against him, in order to divert the King from that resolution. This being proved, Mujahid was imprisoned at Doli-poor; after which the King, returning towards Agra, on the way lost eight hundred men in one day for want of water.

Secunder, eyeing from his march the ruins of Agra, moved towards Narvar, a strong fort, in the district of Malava, then in the possession of the Hindoos. He ordered Jellal, governor of Calpie, to advance before him and invest the place, which was accordingly done. When the King arrived before Narvar, Jellal drew up his army out of respect, that the King might review them as he passed. This circumstance proved very hurtful to Jellal, for from that time the King became jealous of his power, and determined to ruin him. Secunder surrounded the place, which was sixteen miles in circumference, and began to carry on the siege. The siege was now protracted eight months, when the Sultan received intelligence, that a treasonable correspondence was carried on between some of his Omrahs and the garrison, for which Jellal and Sheri were imprisoned in the fort of Awintgur. The garrison, soon after, was obliged to capitulate for want of provisions, and the King remained for the space of six months at Narvar, breaking down temples, and building mosques. He there also established a kind of monastery, which he filled with divines and learned men.

Shah ul Dien, the son of Nasir, King of Malava, being at this time discontented with his father, proposed to have a conference with Secunder. The King immediately sent him a dress, and promised to support him in the government of Chinderi, against the power of his father. But circumstances so fell out, that it became unnecessary to take that unnatural step.

The Sultan, in the month of Shuban, in the year



914, marched from Narvar; but after he had advanced to the river Ganges, he began to consider that it would be proper to surround that fortress with another wall. He therefore ordered that work to be immediately begun, and then he himself took the route of Lohar. At that place he bestowed Calpie, in jagier, upon Niamut Chatoon, the wife of Cuttub Lodi, and daughter of the prince Jellâl, his brother. He then directed his march towards the capital, and arriving at Hitgat, sent a detachment against some rebels in that country, and destroyed all their habitations, placing small garrisons at proper distances to overawe them. About this time he received advices that Ahmed, the son of Mubarick Lodi, governor of Lucknore, had turned idolater; upon which orders were dispatched to send him prisoner to court, and that his second brother, Sud Chan, should take the administration of affairs in his stead. In the year 915, the King marched to Dolipoor, and ordered caravanseras to be built at every stage. Mahummud Nagori having defeated Ali and Abu Bekir, who had conspired against him, they fled to Secunder for protection. Mahummud, fearing they would bring the King against him, sent presents by way of prevention, and ordered the Chutba to be read in Secunder's name. The Sultan, pleased with his submission, sent him a dress of confirmation, and returned to Agra.

He spent some months there in building, making spacious gardens, and in hunting, then returned to Dolipoor, ordering Soliman, the son of Firmilli, to succour Hussen Chan. Soliman very imprudently told the King, that he could not prevail upon himself to leave the presence. This expression threw Secunder into a violent rage, and he forthwith ordered him from his service and camp by next morning at day-light, or that otherwise all his effects should be given to the soldiers as public plunder.

Much about this time, Bogit Chan, governor of Chinderi, who held that place of the King of Malava, seeing the weakness of his own prince, turned his face

to Secunder. That monarch sent Amad ul Muluck to support Bogit in his rebellion. He soon after returned to Agra, and issued a proclamation bearing the submission of Bogit, and his own consequent right to that country. He sent more troops and Omrahs to Chinderi, who entirely settled it as an appendage of the empire. Bogit found matters carried on in his government in such a manner, that he was constrained to resign his office, and come to court.

After this, we find no transactions worthy of memory in the empire, till the year 922. Ali Nagori, suba of Suisuper, in that year prevailed upon Dowlat, governor of Rintimpore, which he then held of Malava, to deliver the fort to Secunder, if that monarch should come in person to take possession of it. Secunder, with great joy, closed with the proposal, and set out towards Biana, to which place the governor of Rintimpore came to meet him, and was graciously received. But Ali, who had been disappointed in some favours which he expected for bringing this matter to bear, resolved still to prevent the accomplishment of it. He had so much influence upon the governor, that he made him retract his promise about giving up the fort, though he had put himself in the Sultan's power. The Sultan having found out the cause of this change, disgraced Ali, and deprived him of his government, but was obliged to return to Agra without succeeding in his design upon Rintimpore, setting the governor at liberty, notwithstanding he had so egregiously deceived him.

To Agra the King summoned all the distant Omrahs together, with an intention to reduce Gualier. But he was, in the midst of his preparations, in the year 923, taken ill of a quinsy, of which he died, having reigned, with great reputation and ability, twenty-eight years and five months. The parts which he exhibited, during his reign, justified the choice of his father, who singled him out, though a younger son, as the person most capable to support a title to which his family had no claim by inheritance.

A great revolution happened in Persia, during the reign of Secunder in Hindostan. Ismael Sofi, having reduced the western provinces of Persia, possessed himself of Chorassan and the western Tartary, by the defeat and death of Shubiani, the Usbec, who had dispossessed the family of Timur of those countries. The famous Sultan Baber, in the mean time, continued to reign in Cabul and the provinces towards the Indus.

## IBRAHIM II.

SECUNDER dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim\* immediately succeeded him in the throne. This prince, contrary to the maxims and policy of his father and grandfather, behaved himself with insupportable pride and arrogance to his friends and family. One foolish expression of his was, that Kings had no relations, but that every body should be the slaves of royalty. The Omrahs of the tribe of Lodi, who were always before honoured with a seat in the presence, were now constrained to stand by the throne, with their hands crossed before them. They were so much disgusted with this insolence, that they privately became his enemies.

A conspiracy therefore was formed, by the Omrahs of Lodi, in which it was agreed to leave Ibrahim in possession of Delhi, and a few dependent provinces, and to place the prince Jellal, his brother, upon the throne of Jionpoor. Jellal marched from Calpie, by the aid and advice of the disaffected Omrahs, and mounted the throne of Jionpoor. He appointed his cousin Fatte Chan his vizier, who brought over all the Omrahs of the Eastern provinces to his interest.

Jehan Lohani came at that time from Beri, to congratulate Ibrahim upon his accession, and, in a very high strain, began to blame the Omrahs for dividing

\* His titles were, Sultan Ibrahim Ben Sultan Secunder

the empire, which, he said, would be attended with many evil consequences to the family of Lodi. The Omrahs, sensible of the impropriety of their conduct, determined, as Jellal could not be yet well established, to call him back, and so divest him of his new-assumed royalty. They accordingly sent Hybut with deceptious letters to recall him, saying, that there was a scheme for him in agitation, and that it was necessary he should speedily come to support it.

But Hybut having over-acted his part by flattery and importunity, Jellal suspected a plot against himself, and wrote them a genteel excuse. They, however, not discovering his jealousy, sent Firmilli and other Omrahs to enforce the request of Hybut; but Jellal took no notice of their solicitations or intrigues. Ibrahim and his Omrahs, finding that these baits would not take with Jellal, issued a proclamation, declaring all the Omrahs, who should join him, traitors to the state; at the same time sending presents and messengers to all the principal officers in those parts. These means had the desired effect, and the Omrahs, on the side of Jellal, were brought over from his interest by degrees. The affairs of Jellal declining in this manner, he saw that nothing but a resolute attempt could retrieve them. He accordingly, marching to Calpie, secured his family in that fort; and collecting all his strength, assumed the title of Emperor, under the title of Jellal ul Dien, and was determined to try his fortune in the field. He sent, at the same time, a trusty ambassador to Azim Humatoon, who held Calfinger for Ibrahim, and had a great army in pay, to beg his assistance. Azim was prevailed upon to join him; and a resolution was formed, first to settle the countries about Jionpoor, and afterwards to think of affairs of still greater moment. They accordingly marched with all expedition against Mubarick Lodi, suba of Oud, whom they drove to Lucknore.

Ibrahim, hearing of these transactions, marched his army to that quarter, sending his other brothers in con-

finement to Hassi, where he pensioned them for life. Upon his march towards Oud, he was informed that Azim Humaioon had deserted Jellal, and was now upon his way to meet him, which gave him great joy. He sent some Omrahs to escort him to his camp, where he was very favourably received. A number of other Omrahs of those parts joined Ibrahim : and he dispatched the greatest part of his army, under the command of Azim Humaioon Lodi, against his brother. But before Azim could come up with Jellal, he threw a garrison into Calpie, and, with thirty thousand horse, gave him the slip, and marched directly towards Agra ; while Azim laid siege to Calpie. Jellal had it now in his power either to take possession of, or to plunder, the treasury. But he seems to have been perfectly infatuated. Adam, who was in the city with a small garrison, not only prevailed upon him to relinquish that advantage, but amused him with hopes of his brother's favour, till he sent him all his ensigns of royalty. Adam went so far as to promise to Jellal the government of Calpie, and other advantages, without having any powers of treating from the King.

Adam sent the whole to Ibrahim, and acquainted him of every particular. But the King having now taken Calpie, and the treaty being concluded without his authority, he took no notice of it, but marched against Jellal, who, now deserted by his army for his pusillanimity, was obliged to fly to Gualier, and solicit the protection of the Raja of that place. Ibrahim came to Agra, where he remained to regulate the affairs of the government, which, since the death of Secunder, had fallen into great confusion. The Omrah Karim was sent to take charge of Delhi, and Mungu to Chunderi.

About this time the King, without any apparent reason, conceived a disgust at Miah Boah, who was formerly vizier to Secunder, and put him in chains, conferring at the same time great honours upon his son. He then formed a resolution of reducing Gualier, ordering Azim Humaioon to march from Kurrah against

it, with thirty thousand horse, and three hundred elephants. Seven other Omrahs, with armies, were sent to reinforce Azim. Jellal, who had taken refuge in Gualier, being intimidated, fled to the King of Malava. The imperial army arriving before Gualier, invested the place, and in a few days Raja Man. Sing, who was a prince of great valour and capacity, died, and his son Bickermagit succeeded him in the rajaship. After the siege had been carried on some months, the army of Ibrahim at length possessed themselves of an outwork at the foot of the hill, upon which the fort called Badilgur stood. They found in that place a brazen bull, which had been a long time worshipped there, and sent it to Agra; from whence it was afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and placed at the gate of Bagdat.

The unfortunate Jellal, who had gone over to King Mahmood of Malava, not being well received there, fled to the Raja of Kurykatka, but was seized upon by the way, and sent prisoner to Ibrahim's camp. Ibrahim pretended to send him prisoner to Hassi, but gave private orders to assassinate him upon the way, which was accordingly done.—What are those charms in power, which could induce a man to shed the blood of a brother? Nor was Ibrahim satisfied with the death of Jellal; he imbrued his hands in the blood of several Omrahs of great distinction. He called Azim Serwani from Gualier, when just upon the point of taking the place, imprisoned him and his son Fatte, turning out his other son Islam from the subaship of Kurrah. But when Islam had heard of his father's and brother's imprisonment, and of his own disgrace, he erected the standard of rebellion, defeating Ahmed who was sent to take his government. The Sultan having received advices of the reduction of Gualier, which had been for a hundred years in the hands of the Hindoos, he had leisure to turn all his power to suppress the rebellion at Kurrah. Azim Humaioon and Seid, after the reduction of the place, were permitted to go to their jagiers



at Lucknore; where, joining the interest of Islam, they stirred up more disturbances.

Ibrahim, placing very little dependence upon the fidelity of the troops which he had near him, issued orders for those of the distant provinces to repair to his standards. He, in the mean time, conferred great favours upon Ahmed, the brother of Azim Humaioun, and giving him the command of the army, sent him against Islam. Ahmed having arrived in the environs of Kinnoge, Eckbal, a dependant of Azim Sirwani, rushed out from an ambush with five thousand horse, and having cut off the imperial troops, made good his retreat. The King was greatly exasperated against Ahmed, upon receiving intelligence of this defeat. He wrote to him not to expect his favour, if he did not quickly exterminate the rebels; at the same time, by way of precaution, sending another army to support him. The rebels were now about forty thousand strong in cavalry, besides five hundred elephants, and a great body of infantry. When Ahmed had received the reinforcement which we have mentioned, and the two armies came in sight of each other, Raja Bochari, who was esteemed the first man for parts in that age, was desirous of bringing affairs to an amicable accommodation. Overtures being made, the rebels consented to dismiss their army, upon condition that Azim Sirwani should be set at liberty. Ibrahim would not hearken to these terms. He sent orders to Dirai Lohani, governor of Behar, to Nisir Lohani, and Firmilli, to advance from that quarter, against the rebels. The insurgents foolishly permitted themselves to be amused till the armies from Behar joined. The treaty being then broke off, they were reduced either to fly or fight upon unequal terms.

They resolved upon the latter, and accordingly drew up in order of battle. Urged on by despair and resentment, they did justice to valour, and were upon the point of defeating the imperialists, when Islam was

killed, and Seid dismounted and taken. These unfortunate accidents discouraging the troops, they stopped short, and soon after turned their face to flight. Their dominions, treasure, and baggage, fell at once into the hands of the King.

Ibrahim now gave full scope to his hatred and resentment against the Omrahs of Secunder, and many of them were barbarously put to death. Azim Hummaoon Sirwani, Miah Boah, and others, who were in confinement, were at the same time assassinated, and fear and terror took possession of every heart. These cruelties and assassinations gave rise to another rebellion. Dirai Lohani, suba of Behar, Jehan Lodi, and Firmilli, turned their heads from the yoke of obedience. Ibrahim having received intelligence of this defection, sent a private order to the saints of Chunderi, to take off Firmilli, suba of that country, and these holy persons accordingly assassinated him in his bed. This fresh instance of Ibrahim's baseness and tyranny, served only to create him more enemies.

Dirai, of the tribe of Lodi, suba of Beria, died about this time, and his son of the same name assumed the title of Emperor, under the name of Mahommed, with all the ensigns of royalty. He was joined by all the discontented Omrahs, and found himself at the head of a hundred thousand horse, with which he took possession of all the countries as far as Simbol, defeating the imperial troops in repeated engagements. Ghazi Lodi came about this time with the army from Lahore, by the Sultan's orders. But having heard of his tyrannies by the way, he was apprehensive of danger to himself, and returned to his father Dowlat, at Lahore. Dowlat, seeing no safety but in extremity, revolted from the Sultan, and solicited Baber, the Mogul, who then reigned in Cabul, to come to the conquest of Hindostan. The first thing, however, that Dowlat did, was to obtain from Baber, Alla, the brother of Ibrahim, now in the service of Cabul. Supporting him, as a cover to his measures, with his whole force, he reduced



the country as far as Delhi. Alla was joined by the Omrahs of those parts, so that his army now consisted of upwards of forty thousand horse, with which he invested Delhi. Ibrahim resolved to march against him, but when he came within six crores of Alla's army, he was surprised by that prince in the night. A confused and tumultuous fight was maintained to daylight, when Ibrahim found that he was deserted by some of his Omrahs, who had joined Alla. Ibrahim, observing in the morning that the troops of Alla were dispersed in plundering the royal camp, rallied a number of his troops and the greatest part of his elephants, returned to the attack, and drove him off the field with great slaughter. Ibrahim entered Delhi in triumph, and Alla, seeing no hopes of reducing it, retreated to Punjaab.

In the year 932, no remarkable event happened in the empire, till Baber drew his army against Ibrahim, as will be hereafter related at large, overthrew him in the field of Panniput, deprived him of his life and kingdom, and transferred the empire from the Afghan tribe of Lodi, to the family of Timur. Ibrahim reigned twenty years: a cruel, proud, and wicked prince, though possessed of ordinary parts, and extremely brave.

For the first eight years of the Emperor Ibrahim, Ismael, the first of the Sofi family, reigned in Persia. He was succeeded by his son Shaw Tamasp, who acceded to the Persian throne, upon the death of his father, which happened in the 930th of the Higera.

### BABER\*.

ABU SEID, who held the titles of the Mogul empire the western Tartary, and in Chorassan, dying in Iract, left eleven sons, Ahmed, Mahmood, Mahommed, Sha-

\* His titles at length were, Zehir ul Dien Mahommed Baber.

† One of the provinces of Persia.

roch, Ali, Amer Shech, Abubekir, Murad, Chilili, Mirza Willid, and Amer\*. Four of the brothers arrived to the dignity of kings; Ali to the throne of Cabul; Ahmed to the kingdom of Samarcand; Amer to the united thrones of Indija and Firghana; and Mahmood to those of Kundiz and Buduchshan. Eunus, King of Mogulstan, gave to each of those four Kings one of his daughters in marriage, excepting to Ali. Amer, by Cathick Negar, the daughter of Eunus, had a son, whom he named Baber, born in the year 888. The relation between Timur† and Baber is this: Sultan Abu Seid, the grandfather of Baber; was the son of Mahommed, the son of Miran Shaw, and grandson of Timur, lord of ages.

Baber, when as yet but twelve years old, discovered a capacity so uncommon at that age, that his father Amer gave him the kingdom of Indija; and when Amer, upon Monday, the fourth of Ramzan, in the 899th of the Higera, fell, by an accident, from the roof of a pigeon-house, and was killed, Baber was advanced to the throne, and assumed the title of protector of the faith.

Ahmed, and Mahmood, the uncles of Baber, led their armies against him, to be revenged of him, in his nonage, for the war of his father against them, hoping, by the advantage which the accession of a child might afford, to appropriate his kingdoms to themselves. But an accident defeated their ambitious designs. After besieging him in the capital of Indija, there happened so great a mortality among their troops, that they were glad to enter into treaty, and to raise the siege. Ahmed died upon his way to Samarcand‡.

\* It is to be observed, that Ferishta prefixed the title of Mirza Sultan, which signifies Prince, to every one of the eleven sons of Abu Seid, on account of their being descended from Timur Bec, in the fourth degree.

† Tamerlane.

‡ The city of Samarcand is situated in latitude  $41^{\circ} 20'$ , and in longitude 95. It is the chief town of Maver-ul-nere, or Transox-

The Kings of Cashgar and Chutun, both of the family of Timur, soon after drew a great army towards the borders of Orgund, and made war upon Baber; but he obliged them to retreat. He, at this time, appointed Hassen governor of Indija, who was not faithful to his trust. He rebelled in the year 900, but Baber marched against him, and obliged him to fly towards Samarcand. In the same year, Ibrahim Sarid, the governor of Ashira, rebelled, and read the Chutba in the name of Beisinker, the son of Ahmed, who had succeeded to the throne of Samarcand. Baber marched against him, and besieged him in Ashira, which he reduced in the space of forty days; and the rebel was obliged to come forth with a sword and coffin before him. Baber, however, forgave him, and marched to Chojind, and from thence to Sharuchia, to meet his uncle Mahmood, with whom he was now reconciled. He remained with Mahmood a few days, and then returned to Indija.

Baisinker, King of Samarcand, having possessed himself of Artaba, which was a long time the property of Amer, the father of Baber; that prince resolved to retake the place, and marched accordingly with his army against it, the very next season. Zulnoon, who held it on the part of the King of Samarcand, made a resolute defence, till the approach of winter obliged Baber to raise the siege, and return to Indija.

Baber, in the year following, drew his army towards Samarcand, being in alliance with Ali, the brother of Baisinker, and King of Bochara; for the former endeavoured to recover from the latter the kingdom of Samarcand. The confederate Kings not being able to reduce Samarcand that year, they returned home for the winter season, and made great preparations for another campaign. Both the Kings, accordingly, in

iana. It is much fallen off from its ancient splendour, though it is still a considerable and populous city. A good trade is driven on there, in several manufactures, especially silk paper, peculiar to that town.

the year 902, in the beginning of the spring, took the route of Samarcand. Sultan Ali reached Samarcand first, and Baisinker advanced without the city, and encamped before him; but, upon Baber's arrival, he retreated within his walls in the night. Eulu Chaja, who was going the rounds of Baber's camp, discovered the retreat of Baisinker, and falling upon his rear, put a great number to the sword. Baber laid siege to a fort, called Ashira, at a small distance from the city, and took it. The confederates, after this success, attacked Samarcand, which was defended with great bravery, till winter obliged them to raise the siege, and retire to quarters till the ensuing season.

Ali returned to Bochara, and Baber to a place called Chajadidar. Shubiani, King of the Usbecks of Turkestan, upon his march from his own dominions, to join the King of Samarcand, came before Baber, but he thought proper to make the best of his way for Samarcand. Shubiani and Baisinker quarrelled soon after, and the former returned to his own country. This circumstance so much distressed Baisinker, that, with a small retinue, he went in person to beg the assistance of Chusero, King of Kunduz, also of the posterity of Timur, while Baber, seeing this opportunity, hastened to Samarcand, and, in the year 903, entered the city without opposition, and mounted the throne, being acknowledged by the greatest part of the Omrahs.

But as Baber had taken the place by capitulation, and forbid all manner of plunder, the army, to whom he was greatly in arrears, and who served him only for the hopes of booty, began to disperse. The Moguls, who were commanded by one Ibrahim, went off in a body, and were followed by several other chiefs, with their whole dependants, to Achsi, where Jehangire, the brother of Baber, commanded. Jehangire, by the aid of the deserters, and that of a prince called Ozin Hassen, declared himself King of Indija. He wrote, by way of sneer, to his brother, that as Baber had subdued the kingdom of Samarcand, he begged to be

indulged with that of Indija. Baber having received this message, gave way to his passion, and, in blaming the perfidy of those chiefs who had deserted him, imprudently threw some reflections upon those who remained. The Omrahs resented this behaviour, by abandoning him, and joining his brother. Baber, in the utmost distress, sent Eulu Chaja to endeavour to reconcile the Omrahs to him again, but they sent a party to way-lay the ambassador, and cut him to pieces.

The Omrahs Ali and Molana, in the mean time, threw a garrison into the fort of Indija, and continued to hold it out for Baber. The faithful Omrahs sent advice to Baber of their situation; but, unfortunately at this time, he was taken so extremely ill, that, not able to swallow any thing, he barely existed by having moistened cotton applied to his lips. When he had recovered his health, and found the pressing situation of his affairs in Indija, he determined to run the risk of losing Samarcand rather than his paternal dominions, and accordingly directed his march homewards. But Ali Doost and his friends in Indija, having heard that Baber was certainly dead, had capitulated and given up the place to Jehangire. This traitor assassinated Molana, and, mounting the throne, read the Chutba in his own name.

This disagreeable intelligence, and other advices that the Samarcandians had revolted, were at once brought to Baber upon his march, which threw him into the utmost distress, having now lost both kingdoms. He sent, as his last resource, Amir Casim to Tashcund, to entreat the assistance of his uncle Mahmood. That monarch hastened to Jilka, where he and Baber met; but an emissary at the same time came to Mahmood from Jehangire, who managed matters so well, that Mahmood left his two nephews to settle their own differences, and returned to Tashcund. This unexpected blow had such an effect upon the affairs of Baber, that they now appeared so desperate, that of all his army, in

a few days, only forty horsemen remained with him to conquer two kingdoms. In this forlorn situation he retreated to Chojind. He wrote from thence to Mahommed Hussein at Artaba, acquainting him that the place in which he was then could not protect him from the fury of his enemies; he therefore earnestly solicited him to permit him to pass the winter at Bishaer. Hussein consented to this request, and Baber accordingly took up his quarters there. He began to recruit a new army, writing to all the friends he could think of to join him.

After a few were gathered round his standard, he considered that his future fortune depended entirely upon the reputation of his arms, and resolved to employ them against his enemies. He therefore hastened to Barnilack, where he took some forts by assault and some by stratagem. But these petty exploits were of little service to him, for his affairs bore still a very ruinous aspect, which threw him into great perplexity. He received, in the mean time, agreeable tidings from Alli Doost, begging his forgiveness, and informing him that he was in possession of the garrison of Marinan, and if Baber should come to take possession of it, he would number himself among his slaves. Baber did not hesitate to accept this offer, and arriving at the place, he met Alli Doost at the gate, who put him into possession of the fort, and supplied his finances. Baber immediately sent Amer Cassim towards the mountains of Indija, and Ibrahim Sara and Viss Laghiri towards Achi, to endeavour to bring over friends to his party. This measure had the desired effect, for the mountaineers of Indija were gained to the interest of Baber, while Ibrahim Sara and Viss Laghiri settled matters with the governor of the fort of Baab and two or three more, who declared for Baber. The negotiations of that prince succeeded at the same time at the court of his uncle Mahmood of Bochara, who marched to join him.

Jehangire having received intelligence of the pro-



ceedings at Marinan, and of the efforts of Baber to raise an army, marched with his forces towards the place, and sat down before it. He detached at the same time part of his army towards Achsi, who falling in with Mahmood, were defeated with great slaughter. When Jehangire received these advices he was struck with embarrassment, and retreated to Indija. But Nasirbeg, the son-in-law of Ozin Hassen, who had now the government of that city, seeing the favourable aspect of Baber's affairs by the junction of Mahmood and several parties of Usbecks, determined not to admit Jehangire, and immediately sent a messenger to hasten Baber to take possession of the place. This check ruined the affairs of Jehangire, for immediately his army began to disperse, while he himself took the way to Ost, and Ozin Hassen that of Achsi.

Baber by this time advanced to Indija, and took possession of that city, conferring honours upon his friends, and thus the capital of Firghana was, in the year 900, restored to its former administration. Upon the fourth day after the arrival of Baber, he set out for Achsi, where Ozin Hassen capitulated, and was permitted to retire to Hissaar, Casim Ogib being appointed governor of the place. The King returned to Indija with the greatest part of Ozin Hassen's troops, who enlisted themselves under his victorious banners. But the forces of Hassen having upon a former occasion plundered several persons then in the King's army of the effects, a complaint was made to Baber, and orders were issued to restore the plunder to the proper owners. The Moguls, unwilling to comply with this order, mounted their horses, and to a man set out for Orgund, where they joined Jehangire and Ahmed Timbol, by which they were again in a condition to march against Indija. The King sent a general to oppose them, who was defeated with great slaughter, many of the King's principal Omrahs being slain, and several taken prisoners.

The enemy advanced with all expedition, and laid siege to Indija for the space of thirty days, but as the

could effect nothing against it, they marched towards Ouse. The King having recruited his army, marched in the year 905 towards Ouse, while the enemy by another road made a push towards Indija. Baber, however, trusting to his friends in that city and the strength of the place, marched to Badwerd, a strong fort in the possession of Chilili, brother to Ahmed Timbol. Chilili defended the place with great resolution, but at length was forced to a capitulation, by the terms of which he was exchanged for the King's friends who had fallen into the enemy's hands.

Ahmed Timbol, in the mean time, made an attempt to scale the walls of Indija in the night, but was repulsed with great loss. Baber, by this time returning to that place, took a strong post by the banks of the river. He encamped before the enemy for the space of forty days, and then determined to attack their camp though with great disadvantage. After an obstinate and bloody resistance, the rebels were driven out of their trenches and dispersed. The King, after the victory, entered the city in triumph. Baber was informed in Indija that six thousand horse from Mahmood King of Bochara, whose policy it was to weaken both parties, had come to the assistance of Jehangire, and had sat down before Cashan. The King, though it was now the middle of winter, in severe frost and snow, marched that way, upon which the allies retreated to their own country. Timbol, who was upon his march to join the rebels, fell in accidentally with the King, in a situation where he could not escape, had not the night favoured his retreat; by which means he went off with little loss. The King pursued him under the walls of Bishare, and encamped in sight.

Upon the fourth day, Ali Doost and Cumber Ali prevailed upon the King to make proposals of accommodation. The terms were immediately agreed upon; that Jehangire should keep possession of all the country between the river Chajand and Achsi; and that the kingdom of Indija and the districts of Orgund should